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THE  
IMPOSSIBLE VAGARIES  
OF  
SOCIALISM

ITS FALLACIES AND ILLUSIONS

"Socialism would wreck the world's efficiency for  
the purpose of redistributing the world's income."

—President Bush

By ROBERT LARMOUR  
(The Railway Veteran)

1911

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR, ST. STRATFORD, ONTARIO

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OF  
SOCIALISM

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—President Butler

By ROBERT LARMOUR  
(The Railway Veteran)

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## FOREWORD

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The efforts of the sanguine exponents of Socialism seeking a foothold amongst Canadian workmen are responsible in great measure for our labor troubles, and the resultant misunderstanding and ill-feeling that exists between employee and employer.

Until the publication of "The Impossible Vagaries of Socialism—Its Fallacies and Illusions," by Robert Larmour, the workingman will have had little or no suitable comprehensive source of authentic information to aid him in properly considering the merits of the glib, plausible claims of the "Socialists' Cure-all" as a solution of the Economic Problems that confront us today.

Every workingman should read the book. Its author has a wide appreciation of the workingman's difficulties.

Montreal, March 11, 1911.

JAS. S. GRAY.

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## THE IMPOSSIBLE VAGARIES OF SOCIALISM

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(Editor's Note.)

There is perhaps no one at the present time in this country better equipped by experience, close study and application to undertake the task of preparing a reliable educational work on the absorbing subject of Socialism, than Robert Larmour (The Railway Veteran), the author of this volume.

For several years he has given his time and energies almost exclusively to the object of mastering all the details connected with the growth and development of Socialism, its different phases, its ramifications and its ultimate aims. His intimate connection with that powerful organization, "The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain," has brought him into close touch with the latest and most authoritative literature bearing on the question, and the controversial contests he has recently taken part in have given him a wide and comprehensive knowledge of how Socialism, in all its various forms and grades, is viewed from different standpoints. He does not attempt any literary feat, nor follow any orthodox method of bookmaking, but aims at producing a plain work that can be easily understood and as easily digested by the reader who seeks information rather than literary perfection.



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## **SOCIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL DESPOTISM**

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(From The Times, Los Angeles, Cal.)

Robert Larmour of Ontario, Canada, known throughout the Dominion as "The Railway Veteran," has recently published a book entitled "The Impossible Vagaries of Socialism." It is a work which ought to have an international circulation. It deals with the social and industrial problems of the day in a candid, careful and comprehensive manner, from the standpoint of one who has been all his life a worker, and a lifelong friend of labor.

Socialism is alternately the parent and the offspring of trades and labor-union organizations. Not the labor-union organizations which seek by a cohesion of workers to legitimately improve the condition of their members, but the closed-shop, dynamiting, boycotting, assault-perpetrating brawlers, who are led by men such as Tviemoe, Gallagher and McCarthy, whose motto is "thou shalt eat thy bread by the sweat of another man's face."

Mr. Robert Larmour clearly shows in his book—which is strong and outspoken to a degree—the futility of desultory individual efforts against such combinations as socialism and labor-unionism represent, and he presents clearly the necessity for combined and concerted action against industrial despotism.

If the workers of America were all of such material as compose the anarchic agitators who are misinforming and misdirecting their blinded, ignorant and unreasoning followers, there would be danger of an industrial and financial cataclysm such as would give the accumulations of industry over to such predatory ruffians as the "I Won't Work" organization, and would bring desolation to the homes of the land. The base and the trust of the country is in the workers who are willing to sacrifice themselves, and willing that other men shall work without molestation. Labor will be overthrown where Truth is left free to combat it. It is only the privilege, it is the duty of the friends of truth, of peace, of orderly government and fair play, to combine in a campaign of education against socialism and closed shop unionism, and they can use no more effective weapon than that presented by "The Railway Veteran" in his book.



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## INTRODUCTION

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There must be a considerable number among the thinking people of Canada who are already convinced that it is both desirable and necessary that some active measure should be adopted to combat the hitherto unopposed advance of organized revolutionary Socialism, and the methods used by the leaders of the propaganda for winning adherents.

I know there are many people who take little or no interest in such matters and that they are quite content to let Socialism severely alone, that is, to work itself out for good or for bad, as it may be. There is another portion of our people who are taken with the novelty of its claims and willingly listen to speeches and read books that set forth the fascinating illusions that Socialists so confidently proclaim, and with this smattering of knowledge about what Socialism is, or is not, they are prone to talk and even argue in favor of the whole Socialist scheme.

But there is still another class of citizens, that is, those who are dissatisfied and envious, who think that they are not getting a fair show as things are now, and consequently are ready to join in any popular cry against existing conditions, they are even ready to go much further for it is such people who swallow the Socialist dogma as sweet morsels; it suits their taste and flatters their egotism; in fact Socialism is the very thing such people want for it provides them with ready made missiles to fling at those they hate with a senseless hatred.

It is needless to say that the Socialist organizer turns his attention specially to this last class; all his efforts are directed to making converts and enrolling such men as active members of the propaganda.

In England, Socialism is more advanced, more strongly entrenched, better organized and is making progress more rapidly than in any other country in Europe, for this reason: England has been selected by the leaders of international and revolutionary Socialism as the most favorable field, the one affording the best opportunities for concentrating their forces with a view to carrying their avowed designs into effective operation. What the ultimate aim of Socialism is I have endeavored to show in the following pages.

That active measures have been adopted and are now in operation for the purpose of bringing Canadian Union men under its influence, to

the same extent that they are in England, I have also endeavored to prove.

The policy of ignoring Socialist agitators and allowing the literature that they are spreading throughout this country so profusely in the ranks of labor, to pass unchallenged, has proved to be a mistaken one.

To those people who are well informed regarding the true nature and object of the Militant Socialist of today, there is no longer any question about its good or evil effects, either upon the Social, Industrial, Political or Religious progress of a nation, for they understand that in its very nature it is a retrograde movement.

In preparing this little volume for Canadian readers, I have endeavored to collect and arrange certain facts for circulation in the hope that a more general interest might be created and greater attention paid to this now, vital question, and that possibly it might be the means of inducing Canadians to follow the example set by Great Britain where it has been found necessary to organize an "Anti Socialist Union," for the purpose of opposing Socialism by exposing its fallacies and the illusive nature of the arguments used to win adherents; and to point out the dangers to which Socialism is leading.

Connected with this Anti-Socialist movement are some of the ablest and most prominent men of the country, as will be seen from the following official list:

President—The Duke of Devonshire.  
 Vice-President—Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M. P.  
 Chairman—Mr. Claude Lowther.  
 Vice-Chairman—Mr. Wilfred Ashley, M. P.  
 Hon. Treasurer—Lord Abinger.  
 Secretary—Mr. Herman Griswood.  
 Literary Secretary—Mr. P. S. Bridgford.

On the council list appears the names of no less than seventy-five equally leading men, representing the political, religious and industrial life of the nation.

It is through the kindness of the Secretaries, Mr. Griswood and Mr. Bridgford, with whom I have been corresponding for over a year, that I am indebted for much of the information used in the preparation of the present work.

It must not be thought that this work is an attempt to bring discredit on working men's unions, as such. On the contrary, it is an endeavor to warn union men of the pitfalls in the path along which they are being led by the will-o'-the-wisp lights of international and revolutionary Socialism, that is vainly striving to forestall the universal law of evolution by forcing the premature birth of a new state of things before the way has been prepared—before that necessary higher state of civilization has been reached—a state much higher than this world has ever yet known.

I am not railing against all that goes under the name of Socialism



as being bad, for I believe that there are many good and sincere but mistaken men professing to be Socialists, especially the so-called Christian Socialists, who have a commendable object in view, but I am opposed to that form of Socialism only which is blindly seeking to overthrow all present conditions of the Social world for their own narrow and selfish ends.

I held no brief from the rich man or the monopolist, nor yet the man who would deny equal rights and privileges to his fellow men, nor am I attempting to pose as the champion of any creed, social or political, but am simply raising my voice in warning to those whom I know to be following an unwise and dangerous course—those who, on account of their yearnings after a better life than their present, would, in their eagerness, be likely to drop the substance to grasp at the shadow. To these I would say, in all sincerity, "rather bear the ills you have than fly to others you know not of."

The late Prof. Frederick Nietzsche, the most modern of the noted philosophers that Germany has produced, the man who has startled the world by his boldness and his extreme radical views of civilization past, present, and to come, had this to say about Socialism:

"Whom do I despise most among the men of today? The Socialist who undermines the workingman's healthy instincts, who takes from him his feeling of contentedness with his existence, who makes him envious, who teaches him revenge. There is no wrong in equality, it lies in the vain pretention to equality."

The blackest page in the history of the blackest days of the dark ages does not record a more horribly revolting and cowardly crime than that perpetrated recently in the free and enlightened state of California.

The spirit that prompted this cold-blooded and most cruel deed at Los Angeles, a deed that now stands out prominently as the climax to "murder most foul," was both brutal and fiendish.

For over fifteen hundred years Nero has been held up to the civilized world as the most cruel monster known to history, but it has remained for the enlightened twentieth century to produce monsters that make the crimes of Nero seem like mere peccadillos in comparison, for science has placed in the hands of the lowest ruffianism which the slums of large modern cities foster, the means of doing murder by wholesale without personal risk to themselves. I have elsewhere referred to that state of frenzy which Socialist agitators seem to be capable of producing, by recalling the murder of Col. Wylie in London by an Indian student. But the murderer in that case did the deed openly and faced the consequences with the courage of a fanatic. This later case is the very reverse and exhibits the most detestable traits of the very lowest order of the human family. Men and women, young and old, entirely innocent of even the semblance of an offence against the community or against individuals, were ruthlessly sacrificed for the gratification of a manifestly senseless rage. Tentatively, the press ascribes the deed to a spirit of revenge on the part of Socialized Unionism on account of the Times news-

paper's noted opposition to their schemes for dominating the state. If the culprits are ever caught and examined it will likely turn out that they were merely hired tools who had nothing to do with revenge; if they had, it would have been on the person of their enemy that the blow would have fallen, not on a score of innocent people.

At whose door will the dastardly deed, then, be laid? What section of our Social system will be held responsible for bringing about such conditions?

These are some of the questions that will have to be answered ere long by some competent authority.

The vast amount of literature that has been produced and circulated of late years regarding Socialism, renders it all but impossible for the average reader or the busy man of affairs to keep pace with all that is transpiring from day to day in regard to its activity and extension in this country. It has been my aim to collect and arrange such information as will, at the least expense in time, enable the reader to meet and refute the stereotyped phrases, platitudes and general stock in trade; arguments of the Socialist organizer, or of Socialized international leaders.

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NOTE.—After the reference to the Los Angeles tragedy was in type I received a letter from Mr. H. G. Otis, president and manager of The Times, in which he says:

"You mention only obliquely what the deed actually was. It was the crime of the century and if mentioned at all should be spoken of in plain specific terms without squeemishness or obliquity."

Most readers will remember the published details of the tragedy of The Times building being blown up in the middle of the night, in October last, whereby the lives of twenty innocent people were sacrificed to gratify a devilish spirit of revenge for The Times' opposition to the Socialist and Trades and Labor Unions' combination schemes on the Pacific coast.

The verdict of the coroner's jury leaves not the possibility of a doubt as to the cause of the explosion. It was deliberately planned and executed and is, as Mr. Otis truly says, "the crime of the century."

## **A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALISM.**

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In order to gain a more comprehensive view of Socialism in its present state, it will be well to notice at the outset that there are several distinct organizations known under different names, but all of them coming under the general head of Socialism. For the purpose of this work it will not be necessary to attempt giving the history of each of these divisions; I will merely state the titles under which they can severally be recognized, but it should be borne in mind that Socialism in Great Britain is divided into two general groups, viz., Evolutionary and Revolutionary.

In the Evolutionary group we find:

1. The "Fabian Society."
2. The Independent Labor Party.
3. The Labor Party.
4. The Clarion Organizations (Clarion Scouts, etc.)

In the Revolutionary group we have:

1. The Social Democratic Federation, and
2. The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

It should also be borne in mind that although the sections may differ from each other in many minor matters connected with Socialist doctrines, they are all agreed upon and subscribe to a fundamental basis which is common to all.

In order to gain a still closer view of the Socialist doctrines as a whole and the methods by which they carry on their work it will be advisable to examine somewhat in detail the working basis of one or two of the named organizations.

We will first take the Fabian Society, one of the Evolutionary group. It was founded in 1883 and has ever since played a prominent part in social and political movements in England.

Mr. Bliss, one of the leading Socialist historians of this Society, says: "Ten years ago the characteristic note of the London workingmen's clubs was one of negative Radicalism. Today it is one of positive Collectivism. Many trades Unions belong to it (the Society). Equally successful has the Society been in politics. By manifestos, tracts, and articles in papers and magazines, a Socialist programme has been placed before the political public, and the two great parties have been led to seek votes by adopting portion after portion of this programme. There are now over fifty local Fabian Societies to be found in the most important Eng-

lish cities, and it is altogether one of the most active and successful organizations of its kind in existence."

Other authorities up to date go to show that the Fabian Society is one of the most dangerous organizations with which Anti-Socialists in Great Britain have to cope, for to a large extent it works "subterraneously" and has a perfected scheme of permeation by means of which it exerts a powerful influence in the least expected quarters.

The now well-known George Bernard Shaw is one of the most active leaders in this Society. Among its publications that have attracted wide attention may be mentioned "Fabian Essays," "Facts for Socialists," "The Fabian News," etc. The Fabian Society is supported by voluntary subscriptions of members and friends.

Let us now take a brief glance at the Independent Labour Party, also under the Evolutionary group. It is affiliated with the Labour Party, which is a federation of Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies and Socialist Societies, for political purposes.

The I. L. P., as it is commonly called, was founded in 1893. It is avowedly Socialistic and has countless branches throughout the country. Its Chairman is Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., an advanced Socialist. The following announcement is taken from one of their printed leaflets:

"The I. L. P. is a political organization for the propagation of Socialism. It seeks the political and industrial organization of the workers, and the independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies."

This Society supports a paper, the "Labour Leader," as its organ, and is looked upon by Anti-Socialists as a peculiarly dangerous organization, as it is a party of clever opportunists and trimmers. Where the outspoken Socialism of the Social Democratic Federation variety is so extreme as to repel at the outset, the I. L. P. wins adherents by its less militant and fiery propagandism but is is Socialism and means the same thing in the end. Keir Hardy, Phillip Snowden, F. W. Jowitt, all M. P.'s, are among the little army of able writers employed by the I. L. P. From their constitution and rules issued for 1908 I will take a few items:

#### ITS OBJECT.

"The education of the Community in the principles of Socialism—the industrial and political organization of the workers—the independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies.

#### PROGRAMME.

"The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility should rest with the community collectively; therefore, the land being the storehouse of all the necessities of life, should be declared and treated as public property.

"The capital necessary for the industrial operations should be owned and used collectively.

"Work, and wealth resulting therefrom, should be equally distributed over the population.

"As a means to this end, we demand the enactment of the following measures."

Then follows a list of eight demands, but too lengthy to be quoted here. Most readers no doubt are already aware of the nature of these proposed laws as they constitute a part of the common creed of all Socialists.

The regulations for selecting Parliamentary candidates are interesting. The National Administrative Council is directed to keep a list of members of the Party from which candidates may be selected by branches. No person is to be placed on this list unless he has been a member of the Party for at least twelve months.

Branches desirous of placing a candidate in their constituency must in the first place communicate with the N. A. C. Before the N. A. C. sanctions any candidate it shall be entitled to secure a guarantee of adequate local financial support.

Each candidate must undertake, in such manner as the N. A. C. shall determine, that he will run for the election in accordance with the principles and policy of the Party and if elected he will support the Party (i.e., the I. L. P.) on all questions coming within the scope of the principles of the I. L. P.

We will now take up one of the Revolutionary group of Societies.

### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

This was the first avowed Socialist Society formed in England and was founded in 1881 by Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Herbert Burrows and some others—it changed its name in 1883 from Democratic Federation—and became a great propagandist organization of out and out Socialism in London and other industrial centres with scores of energetic and self sustaining local branches.

Its object is officially stated to be:

"The socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange—to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of Labour from the Domination of Capital and Landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes."

### IMMEDIATE POLITICAL REFORMS.

"The abolition of the Monarchy."

"Democratization of the Governmental Machinery, viz., abolition of the House of Lords, payment of members of Legislative and Administrative bodies. Payment of official expenses of elections out of the public funds. Adult suffrage. Proportional representation. Triennial Parliaments. Second Ballot. Initiative and Referendum, and so on."

### FINANCIAL AND FISCAL.

"Repudiation of the National Debt"

"Abolition of all indirect taxation and the institution of a cumulative tax on all incomes and inheritances exceeding £300. There are further



articles under the heads of Administration, Education, Public Monopolies, Services, Labour, Social and miscellaneous, which latter includes the dis-establishment and disendowment of all state churches, the abolition of standing armies and the substitution of National Citizen forces."

"The people to decide on peace or war."

"The establishment of International Courts of Arbitration and the abolition of Courts martial—all offences against discipline to be transferred to the jurisdiction of Civil Courts."

It will be well to note here that these reforms are merely preliminary, and for the purpose of insuring greater moral and material facilities to the working class to organize itself and to carry on the class of war which will be inevitable. The leading writers for this Party are Belford Bax, Hyndman and Quelch. It supports a journal styled "Justice" (?) and a monthly magazine called "The Social Democrat."

It is agreed by the best authorities on this subject that the S. D. F. is the most extreme revolutionary Socialist Society in England today. It absorbs from time to time many members of the I. L. P., who, having passed through their novitiate, are able to stomach stronger meat.

Its branches are to be found in most parts of the United Kingdom and its meetings are held everywhere. It is now known as the Social Democratic Party—this change in name is suggestive of its greater and graver aggressiveness.

As the Socialist Party of Great Britain—the last of the parties of the list, subscribes to much the same doctrines as the S. D. P., the last referred to—I will not detain the reader by any recapitulation of its tenets.

These extracts, which have all been taken from the declared and published objects and principles of the various Socialist organizations in England, will serve to freshen the memory regarding their doctrines, even for those who are more or less familiar with the literature of Socialism and workingmen's clubs. Throughout all their documents you will notice great stress is laid on the term Social Democracy. From this it is evident that one central idea predominates the whole framework of all these separate associations, and that is to encourage war on the part of the laboring class against other classes, either social, political or industrial.

The revolutionary nature of Socialism as a whole is shown plainly by their own published declarations—no matter how much they may try to minimize its prominence by talk of evolutionary Socialism—which is Socialism in its transition stage, it is but a step to the higher order of the more advanced, aggressive and Revolutionary type.

Before proceeding to draw conclusions or venturing on anything like a critical review, I propose to quote brief passages, opinions and expressions pertinent to the matter in hand, from leading writers and historians, bearing on both sides of the question. Like most other questions, Socialism has more than one side. To view it directly from the Socialist point alone, or from the Anti-Socialist standpoint, would not be judicial. t most likely prejudicial. To render these quotations as brief as pos-

sible I will give the name, or authority first, classifying them under headings.

### BEARING ON THE REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF SOCIALISM.

M. Jauvis, French Socialist Leader: "It is only by a collective act of the whole national proletariat associated with the whole International proletariat that you can overthrow universal servitude and substitute for it the organization of the universal proletariat. . . . It is impossible to tell with certainty whether the general expropriation of capitalistic property will be carried out with or without compensation. Our goal will ever remain the revolution—the complete transformation of the present Social system."

Dr. Schaffle, Critical Historian: "Socialism is not averse to granting compensation to present private owners provided they allow themselves to be expropriated with a good grace."

President Butler, Anti-Socialist: "Socialism would wreck the world's efficiency for the purpose of redistributing the world's discontent."

Belford Bax, Socialist Leader: "The practical question finally presents itself, what is the duty of convinced Socialists towards the present mechanical majority? Say of the British Nation? A majority mainly composed of human cabbage stalks—the growth of the suburban villa and the slums respectively?" And he answers by saying:

"Make use of them when agreeable, otherwise they are to be disregarded—trampled upon."

Incidentally I would here remark that the whole trend of Belford Bax's teaching is in effect that there be no toleration of anything like opposition to the Socialist programme.

Mr. Rae, International Socialist: "Non-political Socialism may be said to have practically disappeared. Not only so, but out of the several sorts and varieties of political Socialism only one has survived in any strength and that is the extremist and most revolutionary."

Mr. Hyndman, Socialist: "How are you going to take them (the railways)? Well, friends, and fellow citizens—by vote if possible—by force if necessary, and precisely the same thing applies to rent. How are you going to take rent? By vote, if possible, by force if necessary."

Mr. Hyndman further says: "We are not so foolish as to say we would not use force if it would bring us to a better period more rapidly."

Karl Marx declared "That force was the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. . . . The communists do not seek to conceal their views and aims. They declare openly that their purpose can only be obtained by a violent overthrow of all existing arrangements of society. Let the ruling classes tremble at the communistic revolution. The proletariat have nothing to lose in it but their chains. They have a world to win."

### BEARING ON THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF SOCIALISM.

Dr. Schaffle: "Social democracy is undoubtedly dangerous because of the fearful disturbance in which it might culminate, even though, as an enduring social system in the future it is entirely without prospect."

Scientific criticism can only prove realization of the social democratic state of the future is entirely out of the question, it cannot disprove the possibility of a successful attempt being made to start an experiment in it through some violent upheaval."

And here I would stop to say that this is the very contingency against which it is so necessary to guard, so far as lies in the power of those opposed to Socialism.

To attempt to ignore the existence of Socialism is but to play directly into the hands of the enemy

We may prove that it is impracticable, we may prove that it cannot be carried into effect except through a violent revolution, but this does not prove that revolution may not be attempted. The opponents of Socialism must not be deceived or lulled into inaction by the belief that "Englishmen are too sensible to become revolutionists."

This belief is not shared by the leaders of Socialism who are in a position to know well the temper of the English proletariat. (Mr. Onslow Yorke in his "Secret History of International Socialism" published one of their confidential documents in which it was urged that the headquarters be removed to London on the ground that "England is the only country in which a real Socialist revolution can be made. . . . It is the one country in which the landed property has fallen into the fewest hands. It is the one country in which a vast majority consist of people paid by wages. It is the one country where the war of classes and the organization of Trade Unions have acquired a certain degree of maturity."

Mr. Belford Bax says: "If we can only capture Parliament, Parliament can do anything."

This is the stereotyped assurance of the revolutionary Socialists. But a revolution may not be a whit less merciless to minorities for the reason that it is sanctioned or engineered by a majority in Parliament.

There seems to be abundance of evidence that Revolutionary Socialism has a definite aim which is accepted and advanced by hundreds of thousands of the working class in England alone. This being the case, is it not an act of idle folly to ignore the fact or treat it with indifference?

In France, "Rousseau's" work was at first ignored by the upper class as mere theorizing. Carlyle said the r skins went to bind the second edition of the book.

On this point Prof. Flint writes: "If Socialists increase so as to be able to elect a majority of members to the House of Commons the whole Socialistic programme may be constitutionally carried into effect at the point of the bayonet. Thus far Marx saw quite clearly when he said:

"And possibly the time may come when the people of Britain will be so infatuated as to send to Parliament a Socialist majority."

#### INTERNATIONAL AND ANTI-NATIONAL CHARACTER OF SOCIALISM.

W. H. Quelch, Socialist: "Recognizing the class war, the S. F. D. stands for the International Unity and Solidarity of the working class against the International Capitalist class. . . . The conflict of the pre-

sent and immediate future is not between the people of different countries but between the two great classes."

"Socialists, therefore, are opposed to war between nations, and are the foes to what generally passes for patriotism, and of all forms of Imperialism. It was the great object of Marx to denationalize the working classes, obliterating all feelings of distinctive patriotism, and uniting them by the bond of common interests, common aspirations and common sympathies in a great league for the overthrow of the capitalist and middle class."

A leading American says: "If the world is to be saved from class, from universal disorder and from misery, it must be by the Union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement."

Keir Hardie, Socialist M. P., in his book "From Serfdom to Freedom," says: "And now in the International Socialist movement we are at last in the presence of a force which is gathering unto itself the rebel spirits of all lands and uniting them into a mighty host to do battle, not for the triumph of a sect or a race, but for the overthrow of a system which has filled the world with want and woe. . . . Workers of the world, unite!"

#### THE FISCAL QUESTION.

H. W. Lee, Secretary of the S. D. F. G. B.: "Social Democrats cannot take sides in the present controversy. The discussions on Free Trade and Protection are merely battles between the kites and the crows. International Social Democracy will know no tariff walls and will require no impost duties."

"All being both producers and consumers, there will be no vested interests to serve, no commercial profits to protect. We must always be opposed to the capitalist. Free Traders profess to look after the interests of the workers by securing them cheap food, whereas they are really concerned only with the cheapness of labour supply, as they are with the supply of all other raw material."

#### ANTI-PATRIOTISM.

W. Belford Bax, Socialist: "For the Socialist the word frontier does not exist; for him love of country, as such, is no nobler sentiment than love of class. The blustering patriot, big with England's glory, is precisely on a level with the bloated plutocrat, proud to belong to that great middle class which he assures you is the backbone of the nation. Race pride and class pride, are, from the standpoint of Socialism, involved in the same condemnation."

"The establishment of Socialism, therefore, on any national or race basis is out of the question. No, the foreign policy of the great I. S. Party must be to break up these hideous race monopolies called Empires, beginning in each case, at home. Hence, everything which makes for the disruption and disintegration of the Empire to which he belongs, must be welcomed by the Socialist as an ally."

Mr. C. H. Norman, Socialist, in his pamphlet "Empire and Murder," says: "Of the many obstacles to the spread of Socialism, there is none

more difficult to surmount, perhaps, than the strange idea that an Empire is essential to a nation's welfare and success."

Mr Harve, French Socialist: "We detest all mother countries. We will not give an inch of our skin for our own, and if we have to risk our lives it must be for something worth while, and that is to make a revolution."

Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., Socialist: "Empire and Imperialism are expressions which must be obnoxious to any democratic party, because they imply a conception of national destiny and a method of government distasteful to the democratic spirit."

Belford Bax again, "Supposing Social Democracy triumphed in Germany before the other western countries were ripe for the change, of their own initiative, it might then be a matter of life and death for Germany to forestall a military and economic isolation by immediate action, especially against the stronghold of modern commercialism. Should such an invasion of the country take place, it would be the duty of every Socialist to do all in his power to assist the invaders, and to crush the will of the count of heads majority of the people of England, knowing that the real welfare of the latter lay therein, little as they might suspect it."

Bax and Quelch, both powerful leaders of Socialism in England, hold the same opinion as regards monarchy and Imperialism, viz., that Socialism involves political and economic equality, while Monarchy or Empire essentially imply domination and inequality, therefore the Monarchy must be abolished and this is the first reform on the Socialist programme when they come to their own, and yet I have good authority for this statement, there are many people in England today who are ignorant that such a doctrine is being preached and promulgated in every city of the kingdom—Blachford, Hyndman, Victor Fisher, all leading Socialist writers, are particularly loud in the cry of such sentiments as these. "We must turn to Socialism, the only remedy, the only hope." Again: "But all that reasonable human beings can desire for themselves and their offspring can be obtained by moderate service for the community, through Social Democracy and Social Democracy alone."

These statements by leading Socialists may be taken to be fairly typical of the claims made on behalf of Socialism and by its adherents and supporters. There is no evil that it will not cure. It is the moral, political, social and industrial panacea. The temptation to clutch at the delusive as offering a more speedy remedy than true reform is at all times strong. Hence the popularity of Socialism.

In regard to both the past and present Socialists may be described as ultra pessimists, and in regard to the future, unbounded optimists.

At this point in the discussion of this question it may be well to note that nearly all the matter I have quoted from the Socialist side or point of view relates to their destructive policy, but little or nothing is said of their constructive policy.

This is where the great weakness in their scheme discloses itself, for in reality, Socialism is not yet provided with any policy of construction. It is far easier for them to fulminate about what is to be destroyed—what is to be abolished. There is grave reason to doubt whether Socialists have given any serious thought at all to the complex subject of a constructive



policy. Let us hear what such a leader as Mr. Blachford has to say on this point:

"I confess that I approach this question (constructive policy) with great reluctance. The establishment and organisation of a Socialistic State are the two branches of the work to which I have given least attention. So far as concerns a constructive policy I will do my best, merely observing that I can lay no claim to any special aptitude for such a task."

Let us also hear what such a prominent leader (he is leader of the I. L. P.) as Keir Hardie, M. P., says on this same subject. He affords still further proof of how little time and study Socialists have given to a constructive policy. In Mr. Hardie's recently published "From Serfdom to Socialism" he devotes upwards of one hundred pages to condemning and denouncing the existing social system and then he refers to a constructive policy in these few brief lines. He says: "To dogmatize about the form which Socialist State shall take is to play the fool. That is a matter with which we have nothing whatever to do. It belongs to the future, and is a matter which posterity alone can decide. The most we can hope to do is to make the coming of Socialism possible in the full assurance that it will shape itself aright when it does come. As for progress and development under Socialism, these may be safely left to care for themselves."

It seems to me that Mr. Hardie has himself opened the door for criticism and should not complain if such an opportunity is used. For the Socialist members of the Mother of Parliaments are all of the same kind as Mr. Hardie—and we have much reason to believe they are—if they are as willing to leave to posterity the work of truly great reforms while they merely employ their time in developing schemes for abolishing the Monarchy—the House of Lords and so on—for disintegrating and overthrowing the Empire and all institutions connected with its government, for sweeping out of existence the capitalist class, for inciting a class war, for the encouragement of rebellion and revolution with its train of horrors. I repeat that if this is the only kind of work that Socialist members of Parliament are capable of, it would be far better for the Mother of Parliaments and all the rest of the community if these members were to leave the whole contract to posterity.

Mr. Spargo, an American Socialist, says: "It would be absurd and contrary to Socialist principles to attempt to give detailed specifications of the Social State."

Mr. Lawrence Grouland, Socialist Author: "Socialists do not profess to be architects. They have not planned the future in minute detail."

Another Socialist writer, A. D. P. Bliss, says: "Socialists today spend little time in dreaming of the future. To the future the future may be left." No one can portray Socialism any more than Radicalism; it is a principle, not a scheme."

With regard to this last idea, it seems to me that the ordinary onlooker would call Socialism very much a scheme seeing that it seeks to uproot entirely the whole industrial and economical condition which today prevails in all civilized countries, as well as to repeal and alter the moral code. Dr. Schaffle sums up the situation in this respect by saying:

"I suspect that the reticence proceeds not only from reasons of policy

but also from absence of any detailed programme worked out and raised to the dignity of a party creed."

In "Fabian Essays," written in 1884, G. Bernard Shaw wrote "The Economic Problem of Socialism is thus solved, but the political question of how the economical solution is to be practically applied does not come within the scope of this essay."

It would seem from this that Keir Hardie was but repeating the sayings of older and abler writers.

Denunciation, in a word, constitutes the Socialist's forte. Comparison between the lot of the rich and poor are the weapons with which the agitator fights.

The ashes of jealous discontent smoulder in ordinary times, but they are always there, and the agitator with his windy speech can blow them to a white heat; and therein lies an element of danger.

A state under such a rule as is contemplated by Socialists might be compared to one of our great ocean liners going to sea without a captain, chief engineer or other officer, but with a vast miscellaneous crew on the equality plan. A ship under such conditions would not be considered either a safe or a comfortable one by the average passenger, not even for the crew themselves.

England has afforded a refuge for political refugees and agitators from all parts of the world and to this extent they have been better able to mature their scheme, to plot in concert, to sow the seed of discontent without interference and to cultivate and nurture the young plants with the greatest advantage.

### PROGRESS OR REACTION.

Socialists not only assume that under their system the production of the country will be equal to supply the people's wants, but they assert that it will be enormously increased and therefore the hours of labour may be shortened.

For centuries past men have worked for reward. The one motive that impels a man to do more work than sufficient to secure to him the bare necessities of life is the desire for increased reward. Take away this desire and, human nature, being what it is, there forthwith is destroyed that which mainly tends to promote production.

Any one who will give this claim of Socialism due thought would be able to put a hundred questions that would all have to be answered adversely to such a claim.

The right of inheritance would necessarily be denied, as Society would be the only possible inheritor. Professor Lecky has said: "The most powerful of all the springs of human progress is the desire of men to labour and to live for the benefit of those who follow him, the desire of the parents to make the best possible provision for their children animates all classes of society. This powerful stimulus to work, being taken away, the result must be obvious."

There is a vast amount of evidence available to prove that Socialism will produce indolence, and indolence will result in non-production and non-production will of necessity lead to misery and misery to depopulation.

Great stress is laid upon the claim that in the present state of society,

by reason of competition, one man is permitted to exploit another for gain. Under the regime of Socialism this would only be altered by the fact that the one man would be exploited by the whole state for its benefit.

Socialism, in fact, confounds the whole issue as far as labour is concerned.

Under the present system progress in England has been marvelous. Is there any guarantee that under Socialism it would continue at the same rate?

As a result of this analysis we might safely arrive at a conclusion similar to that recently voiced by Mr. Balfour, viz., "that the productive energies of the country must in the future, as in the past, be based upon the individual energies of its citizens, that individual energy can only be called forth by a system based upon the fact that what a man earns he possesses, and, that no greater injury can be done to the working class than to spread a feeling of insecurity about private property."

Another point that may well be referred to here is this, that under Socialism foreign trade would be impossible without surrendering the collectivist principles; and the destruction of foreign trade would be ruinous to a country like England. In fact, Socialists seem to little realize what they rashly propose to abandon in the pursuit of the Socialistic chimera.

#### LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Almost every one must be aware of the extent to which this cry is made use of by Socialist leaders for the purpose of winning converts among the less well informed working class. These leaders realize that the promise of abolition of class distinction is one of the most attractive and alluring which they can dangle before the ignorant. Mr. Robert Blatchford asserts that the only difference between a collier and a Prime Minister would be in the rank and occupation; in the eye of the law this is the only difference that exists now, but he conveys a different meaning. If the Premier be invested with greater authority than the collier, even though it be a delegated power, there is at once a negation of equality.

State control must mean by bureaucratic agency and the domination of experts; that entails a sort of qualified slavery. Mr. Hyndman admits that "there is no more offensive prig than the bureaucrat and none more impervious to reason when his conceit of himself is threatened."

Mr. Herbert Spencer says: "Some kind of organization labour must have, and if it is not that which arises by agreement under free competition, it must be that which is imposed by authority. . . . Small groups under foremen, overlooked by superintendents, who are subject to higher local managers, who are controlled by superiors of districts, themselves under a control government, must essentially be the same as the old order of serfs and slaves working under masters who were coerced by barons who were themselves vassals of dukes or kings. The ultimate result, if Socialism became the policy of the State, must be a Society like that of ancient Peru in which the mass of the people, elaborately regimented in groups of 10, 50, 100, 500 and 1,000 ruled by officers of corresponding grades, and tied to their districts, were superintended in their private lives

as well as in their industries, and toiled hopelessly for the support of the governmental organization."

Again, Professor Flint says: "Socialism of its very nature, so absorbs the individual in society as to sacrifice his rights to its authority. . . . It denies to the individual any rights independent of society, and assigns to society authority to do whatever it deems fit for its own good, with the persons, faculties and possessions of individuals. It undertakes to relieve individuals of what are manifestly their moral responsibilities, and proposes to deprive them of the means of fulfilling them.

"It would place the masses of mankind completely at the mercy of a comparatively small and highly centralized body of organizers and administrators entrusted with such powers as no human hands can safely or righteously wield."

Mr. Hobhouse says: "As the 'expert' comes to the front and efficiency becomes the watchword of the administration, all that was human in Socialism vanishes out of it. Its tenderness for the losers in the race, its protests against class tyranny, its revolt against commercial materialism are gone like a dream, and instead, we have the conception of society as a perfect piece of machinery pulled by wires radiating from a single centre, and all men and women are either experts or puppets. Humanity, Liberty, Justice, Vanish!"

Dr. S haffle forecasts that in the Social state: "The leading rams of the modern Democratic flock whom all the sheep follow, would be the sole actual legislators, rulers and administrators, and would in all probability not be of the best and most capable, but the most thorough-going demagogues, the most successful flatterers of the many-headed M arch."

Thus the evidence of the ablest thinkers of the age goes to prove that it is wholly impossible to establish and maintain real equality without destroying Liberty, and that it is equally impossible to establish and maintain Liberty without destroying equality. They are opposed to each other. The experience of the past proves this.

Socialists claim that by relieving workmen of all cause for anxiety as to future of himself, his wife and his children, that in turn he will be content; willing to work faithfully and honestly all his life, and gratefully accept whatever conditions the state might find it necessary to impose upon him.

To refute this postulate I will take up no more time than is required to say that if the average workman were entirely relieved of his anxiety he would in a short time become imbecile, and degenerate, for it must be admitted that anxiety for the future is the mainspring of all energy and activity among all classes; even the instinct of brute creation furnishes evidence that without it life would soon perish off the earth.

Again, Socialists claim that it is now practically impossible for any man in England to better his station in life no matter how great may be his zeal, ability and perseverance.

So far from this being the case in reality the main social feature of the nineteenth century in Great Britain was the rise of the middle class.

### SOCIALIST FALLACIES.

Socialists also claim that labour is the sole source of wealth. It is quite true no wealth can be produced without labour, but the Socialists twist this truism in such a manner as to make it appear that it is applicable alone to manual labor, whereas the term as used by Adam Smith, Professor Fawcett and other writers was intended to include all kinds of labour, mental and physical.

From every platform Socialists bewail that capital, representing the few, receives upwards of two-thirds of the whole total national income of Great Britain which they fixed as £1,800,000,000 at a recent date; while Labour was compelled to be satisfied with one-third. Mr. Blachford, in his book "Britain for the British" says:

"Roughly then, two-thirds of the national wealth goes to five millions of persons, quite half of whom are idlers, and one-third is shared by seven times as many people, nearly half of whom are workers."

Now it can be readily proved that the whole wealth of the country is not produced by the manual labour alone. One might as well argue that an engine is self-sufficing and needs neither working capital in the form of coal nor ability in the shape of a driver, but Socialists back up this claim by referring to the figures furnished by Sir Robert Giffen. The statement by Sir Robert Giffen is put in this form by Socialists:

Rent .....	£290,000,000
Interest .....	360,000,000
Profits and Salaries .....	460,000,000

Total (that is, the income of the legal proprietors of the national monopolies of land, capital and ability) .....	1,110,000,000
Income of manual labour class .....	690,000,000

Total produce .....	£1,800 000,000
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This is the way Socialist leaders get the one-third for manual labor which alone produces wealth, while the idle rich takes the rest.

Now, if the above figures are truthfully analyzed the table should be arranged as follows:

Rent .....	£290,000,000
Interest .....	360,000,000
Total .....	£650 000,000
Earned by purely manual labor .....	£690,000,000
Earned by other than manual labor.....	460,000,000

The figures thus arranged show that instead of that notorious one-third only going to labour, labour directly receives, roughly, two-thirds of the national income.

This is only one of a long list of fallacies that might be illustrated if space permitted, but I will here only refer to one other. Most Socialists, following their old leader, Karl Marx, still point to the present large system of production, with its vast capital amounts, as part of historical evolution which must inevitably—before very long—bring about the inception of the Socialist State. In doing so they totally ignore the



fact that the growth of the joint stock principle tends not to the elimination but to the multiplication of the small capitalist and as such, represents a movement away from and not towards the social revolution pictured by Karl Marx. In proof of this let us take the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, possessing one of the largest share capitals of any railway in the world. At the annual meeting of 1907 President Sir Thomas Shaughnessy announced: "That there were upwards of 14,000 shareholders whose individual holdings were fifty shares or less; hence it would appear that practically one-third of the entire ordinary share capital is held by these small investors. Of the whole capital of the C. P. R. seventy per cent. or nearly three-fourths, is held in the United Kingdom."

Professor Graham says "that the claim of Karl Marx that 'it was an undoubted fact that capital was concentrating in fewer hands,' was one of his fundamental fallacies."

Concerning matters that would come under the head of The Unemployed, Infant Mortality, Pauperism, Wage Slaves, Monopoly, etc., I will only here stop to say that the claims of Socialist leaders are equally fallacious. For instance, they take figures relating to the city of London alone as a basis of striking a percentage and apply it to the whole population of the United Kingdom. They recently put forth the statement that "there were twelve million of our people on the verge of starvation," and they gave Henry Campbell Bannerman as their authority. When it was investigated it was found that Sir Henry's words were "on the verge of hunger," not of starvation—and also that an average for the whole Kingdom was struck from the figures applying to the City of London alone.

When we take into consideration the mischief that can be done by such false statements being circulated through the enormous means of distribution which Socialist bodies command, and the fact that not five per cent., perhaps, of those who read these false statements, ever see or hear of a denial or contradiction—need we wonder at the number of people who are being misled—or being carried away by the sophistry, false reasoning, subtle arguments, illusive baiting and fallacious promises with which the working classes are being crammed from day to day.

Socialist leaders are past masters in the art of pandering to the tastes and weaknesses of their clientele, to their prejudices and fanatical cravings in the matter of equality, to their fancies and their frailties. Need we wonder that there is a clamor for female suffrage and for universal franchise; in fact, need we wonder at anything that is taking place when we know that the whole literature of the country is largely given over to the purpose of propagating the new gospel of Socialism? One million copies of Blachford's "Merrie England," purely Socialistic in its aim and teaching, have already been issued. Scores of other such books by other popular writers are meeting with similar success as to circulation. The country is being flooded with tracts, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazines, and printed matter of all kinds, furnished free or at a nominal cost to all workmen's clubs.

Able and well-trained lecturers are employed by the score, to add, by

their vehement declamation, to the general militancy of the whole aggregation, I say again, in view of these facts, need we wonder at the progress of Socialism in England?

It may well be asked where all the money comes from to carry on such an immense work. That question can easily be answered. It comes out of the pockets of the working men of Great Britain.

### SOCIALISM OPPOSED TO CHRISTIANITY.

There is still another point, and I consider it a very important one, from which Socialism should be viewed; that is, its attitude towards the Christian Religion. That Atheism correctly represents the attitude of Socialism with regard to religion is repeatedly enforced by their strongest leaders. One of them, the world-known Bebel, sums up the question thus: "We aim in the dominion of politics at Republicanism; in the domain of economics, at Socialism, and in the domain of what is today called religion, at Atheism."

Belford Bax, the English leader, is still more explicit. He says:

"Socialism has been well described as a new conception of the world, presenting in industry co-operative communism, in politics, as International Republicanism, in Religion as Atheistic Humanism, by which is meant the recognition of social progress as being our highest end and aim."

"The establishment of society on a Socialistic basis would imply definite abandonment of all theological cults, since the notion of a transcendent God or semi-divine prophet, is but the counterpart and analogue of the transcendent governing class," and so on.

I might quote many others who have expressed similar views, but Dr. Schaffle has rendered this unnecessary, for he includes them all in one sentence. He says:

"Social Democracy has, ex Cathedra, avowed Atheism to be its religion."

He further affirms that "Socialism of the present day is out and out irreligious and hostile to the church. Socialism says the church is only a police institution for the upholding of capital and that "it deceives the common people with a cheque payable in heaven."

Many reasons may be given for this hatred for the Christian Church on the part of Socialists but they are mostly included in the fact that Socialism and Christianity are inherently antagonistic. As a matter of fact it is candidly avowed by the leading Socialists that Christianity is the bitterest foe of Social Democracy. Mr. Quelch says:

"Christianity and Socialism are absolutely incompatible."

Robert Blachford says: "Foreseeing that a conflict between Socialism and religion (so-called) was inevitable, I attacked the Christian religion. It had to be done and will have to be finished. No half and half measure will serve."

Mr. Hyndman says: "Socialism is the only religion left. Christianity is practically dead."

Mr. Leatham says: "So far indeed from Christianity being able to

support Socialism, it goes hard with Christianity to stand by itself."

Some people claim to believe that what Christianity recommends in religious language, Socialists may advocate in secular language, but for practical purposes, the aims of Christianity and Socialism are entirely unlike and may easily come into direct conflict.

Socialism aims at recasting society; Christianity aims at the regeneration of society.

Socialism would work upon the whole community through state institutions, while Christianity directs attention to personal duty. It can therefore easily be seen that the individual view of duty and his duty as viewed by the state may be entirely different and conflicting.

### WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM.

#### Also Various Other Points of View.

There is still another point from which Socialism should be viewed and that is its attitude in regard to marriage.

Lamartine wrote in his celebrated history of the French Revolution of 1848: "Communism of goods leads as a necessary consequence to communism of wives, children and parents, and to the brutalization of the species."

Socialist leaders themselves have admitted all that Lamartine asserts, except the last sentence. Many independent historians have come to a like conclusion.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon, a Socialist advocate, argues in this way: "The very first conception of a Socialistic State is such a relation of the sexes as shall prevent men and women from falling into selfish family groups. Family life is essentially at war with social life."

"When you have a private household you must have personal property to feed it, hence a community of goods—the first idea of a Social state—has been found in every case to imply a community of children and to promote a community of wives. That you cannot have Socialism without introducing communism is the teaching of all experience, whether the trials have been made on a large scale or on a small scale, in the old world or in the new."

Mr. Quelch expresses himself on this point as follows: "I am in favor of free love—what love are we in favor of, if not in favor of Free Love?"

"I do want to abolish marriage. I do want to see the whole system of society as at present constituted, swept away. I want to make it no more possible for a woman to sell herself in the marriage market than for a man to sell himself in the labour market. We want no marriage bond; we want no bonds at all. We want no sexual bonds, except those based on no other foundation than mutual affection."

To the intelligent and thoughtful these references will be sufficient to show to what a condition woman would be reduced under the Socialist regime. Professor Flint has said that:

"So called Free Love is untrue and degrading love; love from which all the pure, permanent and elevating elements are absent; love reduced

to animal passion and imaginative illusion; the love which is powerful to destroy families, but powerless to organize and sustain them."

The economic position of women under Socialism will necessarily subject her to the universal obligation to labour.

If the state provides for them equally with men, it follows they must aid in the general production as well as men; they will not have a husband who can or will work for them alone, as at present, for every man will be working for every other man's wife just as much as for his own. In fact such a thing as wife and family, as we understand the term now, will have entirely ceased to exist.

Mr. Maddison in a recent article on Socialism says: "Social philosophy offers women economic freedom and independence as a substitute for the marriage bond. The bargain is a bad one for her—for her dependence in some form or degree is decreed by nature. There cannot be such a thing as sex equality in the practical affairs of life. Marriage is primarily for the protection of women and children, and in spite of its abuses and shortcomings, it remains one of the bulwarks of human society."

When the state has assumed all responsibility for the education and upbringing of children, when the love of parents for their children has ceased, there will be little left to promote and continue the institution of the family as we recognize it now. The whole trend of the ethics of Socialism will be directly opposed to it.

I am convinced that many of those people who are proud of being called Socialists are such simply from being ignorant of what Socialism really embraces or implies. They are first captivated by some enticing illusory platitudes that have come under their notice at the proper psychological moment. They are then prepared to receive further gentle doses of mild persuasion and exhilarating ideals with which Socialist literature abounds, and ere long they may be found taking sides and advocating certain Socialist principles; once committed in this way their complete conversion is almost assured, for it is a natural sequence that uncultivated minds will cling to any theory or notion once it has been openly received and acknowledged as a truth by them. The harm is not so much in their making a mistake in the first place, as it is in clinging to it afterwards. What was only a tacit consent in the first stages soon becomes a settled conviction to be nursed and defended the more it is opposed.

I have instances before me where earnest, sane and well-informed members of a leading branch of the Christian Church have become so infatuated with some of the more pleasing pictures drawn by Socialists—so far duped and misled—that they actually believe, maintain and preach that the tide of Socialism that is making such rapid advance means the advent of God's Kingdom on earth, that Christ's second coming is clearly to be discerned in, and directly connected with the preachings of this new gospel!

It would almost seem that in this enlightened age — these modern times—when the civilized world is given over to boasting of its mar-

vellous progress in all matters that go towards the elevation of the human race—I say, it would almost seem that at the selfsame moment the world had made its record showing in false doctrines, false reasoning, weak philosophy, vapid theorizing, illusory dreaming and folly, and all that would go against maintaining that progress which is so boastfully referred to.

Is it not a little disquieting for us to contemplate the fact that one class of men, of that England that has for a thousand years led the rest of the world in freeing and uplifting the human race, are deliberately planning the overthrow of the accumulated work of centuries—the destruction of the greatest Empire and the best, socially and politically, that the world has produced, the possibility that all the great products of modern science, of culture, of wealth, of religion, art and literature, is to be pulled down to the level of the Socialistic creed?

Can it be possible that the civilization of the world is on the crest of a wave of progress only to topple over and plunge downwards once again, to fall back into the trough of bygone centuries, to pass again through those dark ages with all their bitter experiences?

Can it be possible that while such things are even “thinkable” that that part of society who do not subscribe to such a creed as Socialism, will continue to stand aloof and by their silent acquiescence, afford aid and comfort to that class which is making such strenuous efforts to bring about a state of chaos? This is the question that should present itself to the great political parties which are vying with each other in that acquiescence for political gain. It is the question I put to you in all sincerity, and leave with you to answer.

I have purposely avoided inflicting upon the reader anything like an attempt at picturing the horrors that must inevitably follow in the train of such a revolution as that contemplated by the Socialistic propaganda. That has already been somewhat vividly drawn by that able, experienced and accomplished writer, DuQuex, through the columns of “Black and White.”

To us here in Canada the ultimate results of the Socialist movement cannot be otherwise than one of supreme interest. We might even be justified in viewing the menace to the well being of Britain and the Empire as great as that which has recently aroused such intense interest, that is, the sudden and enormous expansion of the German Navy. To us, the disruption of the Empire by a Socialist revolution would be more fatal than if brought about by a war with another nation. We might make terms of peace with another Power, but with a state under social rule, what terms could be made? A social regime in Great Britain would mean chaos, a state with which no terms would be possible.

Ancient history records no such gigantic attempt to overthrow the status quo of the world. If anything on such a stupendous scale has ever been conceived or attempted, based on equally fallacious principles, then history has passed it over as unworthy of record, as it would be unworthy of credence. Great upheavals in social and political conditions have taken place as the result of great wars or of religious zeal and fana-



tical disagreements. Great revolutions have been brought about by unjust and tyrannical rule, but nothing so universal and far-reaching in its nature and aspirations as that which Socialism embraces.

The ambitious dreams of Bonaparte or even of Alexander did not imply such radical changes in the social, political and economical conditions of the world over which they aspired to rule. Mohammed's method of enforcing Islamism on the world did not include anything so ruthless and destructive—so unreasoning and unjust—so utterly wanton in conception and so void of that wisdom which alone could command the respect and consideration of a wise, prudent, sincere and thoughtful people—and yet such is this new gospel that is being openly propagated and developed in the very heart of the most enlightened and advanced nation on earth today.

As I have said before, the methods adopted for spreading this vicious doctrine are most subtle and cunning. All the nations of Europe have contributed their quota of experts to join in the work of creating discontent and rebellion in England. These experts have found safe and fruitful environment in the City of London and have plied their trade of poisoning the minds of the working class so successfully that they have become heroes in the estimation of those whom they have deluded; no doubt these heroes are looking eagerly forward to the time when they will occupy high official places in the kingdom that is to come. For this and similar reasons the work is being pushed forward more vigorously than ever. Their aim is to bring the scheme to a head as quickly as possible—that is, to bring on the revolt—the revolution in the country where there is less real cause for revolt than any other country on earth, but that fact carries little weight with a class that are looking forward to the chance of pillage and plunder.

The international ambassadors who are sent out to this country to represent the Socialist propaganda claim that their mission is to educate the people of this youthful nation up to the proper standard, and to create in them a desire for the enjoyment of life in that higher plane of civilization which Socialism is to introduce—to familiarize them with the idea of a social democratic state wherein full liberty and equality is to prevail—where present forms of government, private property, religion, patriotism, the family home, marriage and all other existing institutions are to be abolished. The State where communism of wives and children, as well as all property, will come within the moral code. But I will here say that such teaching leads to nothing less than the prostitution of one class of the community for the purpose of bringing ruin and destruction on another class, or in other words, for the purpose of bringing about a cruel class war. We are not without painful examples as to what such teaching may lead, when the fervid imagination of the Oriental can be excited to the pitch of believing that it is no crime to assassinate—to murder in cold blood one of the very best representatives of law and order—to take the life of a man that could do more good than a whole army of such men as his assassin. Yet this man paid the penalty of the law with his own life still clinging to his

delusion—a delusion the seeds of which are being scattered abroad from Westminster by men elected by the people to the highest governing function—that of making laws for the people.

If this is what these missionaries call educating the people to a higher standard, then I say, God forbid that this free, prosperous and happy nation of ours—this Canada to which we claim that the twentieth century belongs, I say, God forbid that we should throw open our doors to bid them welcome.

The simultaneous adoption of Socialism could be brought about by nothing short of a miracle, and if it is not simultaneously adopted, what chance would there be of its success in the country where it would be first attempted? But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Socialist regime has been established under the most favorable conditions, that is, that it has been accepted by the nation as an inevitable result of a potentiality so overwhelming that it would be idle and foolish to resist. What would it lead to? Does the weight of evidence not point directly towards commercial disaster? Does it not also point towards political confusion and industrial anarchy? Does it not point to national decadence and national extinction? To the destruction of religious faith and morality? To the total submergence of all those social forces that lead towards upholding those institutions by which alone real progress is made possible?

Let any fair-minded and unprejudiced person take all the evidence that can be found in favor of Socialism, sift and analyze it with a sincere desire to reach the truth for himself and then answer these questions:

1. Is this theory, that Socialism will better the condition of the social life of the nation, based on sufficiently good grounds to warrant giving it a trial?
2. Does it promise such results as will warrant the sacrifice that must inevitably follow its introduction as a form of government and the abandonment of the present form?
3. Has the mighty upheaval that the change implies, in the social life of the nation, been so fully considered as to leave no doubts as to the benefits to be derived from such a change?
4. Would it be a rational and a sensible thing to do to accept the theories about Socialism, that have been put forward by its leaders and adherents, to the extent of venturing on a change of such magnitude? A change embracing such an aggregate of vital interests?
5. Should we take the mere word of such men as Keir Hardie, Robert Blachford, G. Bernard Shaw, Annie Besant, or the word of all past and present leaders, I say, should we take their mere word against our own experience and plunge into this mighty maelstrom of changes without further assurance?
6. Is there sufficient guarantee that under the social regime there will not still be demagogues and charlatans to blow the ashes of jealous discontent, which we have seen are always smouldering, into a flame

again; and that another overthrow of existing conditions may become again the demand of a dissatisfied class?

7. Is there any sufficient guarantee that this experimenting—this kindergarten ideal of a government system with which the proletariat are expected to be pleased, will not pall upon their taste—that they will not grow tired of it in time and throw it aside for something else, for some other whim?

Again: Let us, for the sake of argument, suppose that the Socialists of Great Britain succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the House of Commons, and that this majority voted to abolish the Monarchy, the House of Lords; voted to repudiate the national debt, reduce the army and navy to a sort of civil guard and inaugurate all the rest of the reforms which they have announced in their program, what would be the result? What action would the other nations be likely to take? Would they quietly submit to be thus robbed, plundered and flouted by a proletarian Socialistic House of Commons, representative of all that the Government of Great Britain means to the world? Would they quietly submit or acquiesce in having all International Law, that has cost so much in blood and treasure to establish, cast aside and trampled down, and a state of chaos introduced in its stead? Why the idea that they would is too absurd to be entertained even as a supposition or hypothesis on which to base an argument that would be worthy of the name of argument.

The system of Government by party being what it is, with its acknowledged weakness, opens a door for such a scheme as is aimed at by the leaders of Socialism. Their ambitious dream was built on the weak points of the party system and as their following increased in strength, numbers and coherence, they posed as an independent third party and began the old game of cunningly playing one of the old parties against the other. At first they acted cautiously so as not to create alarm; their demands were modest, and to a certain degree popular, and readily granted by the Government of the day in order to retain the Socialist vote, but they soon become more exacting and aggressive and then, if the Government showed hesitancy, they would begin proposals to the Opposition—ready at all times to sell their support to the highest bidder. In this way Socialism has developed a power in Parliament that can only be reckoned with by the nation generally. The Socialist party now boldly announce that with the leading political questions of the day which divide the old parties—they have nothing to do—they take no side in the matter of Free Trade or Protection for instance, and yet they claim to be a political party—with political aims. What is their political aim? The only answer that can be given is that the advancement of the Socialist propaganda embraces their whole policy. Both the old parties have been acting the conciliatory role—patronizing and promising—until Socialism has gained such strength that it can afford to openly defy them both and claim the support of the masses against both, so that it may be said that to some extent, the weakness of the party system is responsible for the existence of this dangerous propaganda. Party exigencies have thus

been fostering the schemes of these opportunists who are now making ready to turn and rend both parties. Men of trained and highly cultivated intellect, commanding high positions as thinkers and writers of their day, have advocated a system of social reforms, but their line of argument and the methods proposed for carrying them into effect differ widely from those which are being put forward by the later leaders of advanced Socialism.

These later leaders are adopting many of the arguments used by former advocates of social reform, but they have cunningly twisted them so as to suit their present purpose and are using only such as can be adapted to fit in and serve as high authority in support of their more acute, violent and extreme propositions. As an illustration of this I will mention a small Socialist volume published in Toronto under the title of "In the New Capitol," or the City of Ottawa in 1900, in which the author, John Galbraith, Barrister-at-law, Osgoode Hall, Toronto (price 49c), puts certain arguments in the mouth of Farmer Jones, and to give them weight, he has Farmer Jones quote a passage from "Ricardo's Political Economy." This quotation dragged into Farmer Jones' "Idea of the Cause of Hard Times" had about as much relevancy as a quotation from Don Quixote or the Pilgrim's Progress. Nearly the whole of Farmer Jones' argument was taken bodily from Blachford's "Merrie England."

In fact, Socialism in England today is entirely different in its spirit, meaning and method, from what it was even in 1883 when the Fabian Society was formed. Present leaders no longer make even a pretense of depending upon peaceful argument and sound reasoning for carrying great reform measures into effect, but on the contrary, they are openly committed to the policy of using force and violence—if necessary. That violence will be necessary before they can carry out their present program. I think has been proved beyond doubt. That a revolution, on the scale proposed by Socialism, can be effected without violence and bloodshed, is a proposition lacking in the essentials of truth and logical reasoning, and in opposition to the teaching of all past experiences.

One of the most dangerous weapons in the hands of the Socialist Party at the present time is that they are posing as a peace party. They are most persistent in urging peace between nations and the reduction of army and navy expenses to relieve the overburdened taxpayers of Europe, and by doing so are gaining many sympathizers among a class of people entirely outside of the laboring class. They (Socialists) may at least be credited with sincerity in this regard, as it would be easier and much safer for themselves if they could succeed in having the army abolished altogether, before attempting the overthrow of existing conditions. Here again we can see their opportunistic tactics cleverly applied.

Let us go back for a time and trace up the lines of thought that have been followed, or rather those lines which have led forward to the present day manifestations of Socialism. It will not be necessary to refer to Plato's Utopian Republic or to the later poetical dream of More, nor yet to the brilliant concoctions of the French School, such as Fourier's Schemes for Communistic bliss; for we find the spring and source

of inspiration in the later and more familiar works of Karl Marx, Henry George, in his "Progress and Poverty," and in Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and "Equality," and their numerous imitations.

In the works of the two authors last named may be found nearly all the basic ideals of Socialism as we find it today in England and America.

But Bellamy found that in order to make his theory look in any way practical, even in a work of pure fiction, he was obliged to work in a miracle, that is, he had to presuppose a great religious revival to make all men, women and children good, loving, kind, obedient, patient, content, and to be possessed of all the rest of the virtues that go to make a saint out of a human being. In fact, he found his theory would not be workable at all if founded on the raw material of human society as it existed, so he had to refine it up to a degree that would meet his requirements.

The work of bridging over the vast chasm that lies between Bellamy's ideal community of saints and the present proletariat of the world is the task that lies immediately before the leaders of Socialism today. It is a superhuman work and I do not wonder that Mr. Keir Hardie and his friends in the House of Commons shrank before it.

Pulling down the Bastille in Paris and liberating seven prisoners was one thing, but pulling down the structure of law and order that confines within its walls many millions of men, is another question altogether.

Some of the more rash writers in support of Socialism have the hardihood to argue that when that regime is introduced, all humanity will be so pleased and so glad that it has come that there will be no opposition whatever—that even the wealthy class will give up their wealth voluntarily as a sort of penance or peace offering and will go willingly to work with their brothers and equals, the coal miners. As another illustration of this specious class of argument Mr. Blachford in his "Merrie England" says:

"Men strive at cricket, display intense effort and and fierce zeal at football, this proves that it is immaterial to men whether their work brings them gain or not."

If such arguments as these are judged logically sound by intelligent and unprejudiced people, then I will admit that "I do not know what I am talking about," as one Socialist friend has already advised me, concerning a letter that recently appeared over my signature on the subject of Socialism in England.

But the later apostles of Socialism are finding discrepancies even in Karl Marx's conceptions, more especially so with regard to his method of dealing with the agricultural interests. To take away from the farmer the possibility of owning his house and farm and working to improve them and add to their value, and instead, to be put in the same class and on the same level as the factory laborers, would be too radical a change to begin with, so now the leaders are trying to find some more practical plan. If they do not make an exception in the case of the farming community they are likely to make opponents of them instead of friends.

These later apostles are also throwing doubt upon the efficacy of

Henry George's single tax theories. They claim the single tax does not go far enough to meet the requirements of present-day Socialism; so that both Marxism and Georgeism may, within a short time, be turned down as unreliable authority. For this reason it will be readily understood that the individual who has read Marx and George and thinks he has a grip on what Socialism is today, may be far astray on many of the most important points.

It will also be readily understood that if Socialism once begins to show discrimination in favor of one interest, as in the case of agriculture, it will open the door for demands for similar exemptions on the part of other interests, which, if not granted, will tend to breed for the builders of the social Democratic State, a set of dangerous opponents.

There is a class of Socialists who argue that the nationalization of railways, power plants, gas and water works, etc., that is just now so popular, is strong evidence that municipal governments and the people are in favor of Socialization.

I have recently had occasion to answer a newspaper article in which this argument was used, and I did so as follows:

"In the case of a nationalized railway, ownership and control would merely be replaced by a government department. The nature of the worker's service would remain the same; there would still be competition between man and man for pay and promotion; but Socialization of a railway would mean altogether a different state of affairs because everything would be changed, the regulations of service and the form of governing control as well."

"But what form of control Socialism would adopt, and will make good their promises of equality, choice of labour, shorter hours and all the other boons that are to make the laborer contented and happy, has not yet been fully worked out. We have Mr. Keir Hardie's authority for this statement. If Veritas will tell us whether the one billion pounds and upwards that is invested in railways in Great Britain, is to be confiscated and the railways taken away from the present owners by force or whether the Socialist regime will compensate the owners by paying interest on dividends on stock and bonds, it would materially help us to conceive some plan for operating the railway under Socialistic rule, but with this leading question still in abeyance, I fear the other will also remain in abeyance. If the railways under Socialism have to earn the interest on the capital invested, I fear men employed on them will have to work and be bossed much as they are now. On the other hand, if confiscation is the plan, then it means civil war, and 'war means hell,' so Gen. Sherman has said."

Up-to-date Socialist writers and advocates have a peculiar way of turning to the credit of Socialism, every act of Government that in any way points to a betterment of social conditions. Every act of Parliament in which there is the slightest semblance of a concession to the well-known list of demands of the Socialist party, is hailed as a victory for Socialism, and is held up as a great achievement on the part of the well-paid officials who thus keep up the delusion that the money they draw out of the pockets of the "poor laboring man" is a wise and profitable invest-

ment. This is but the old, old game again—it comes down to us from the ancient days of Rome, when its practice was reduced to a science. The comparison may be doing these modern political giants, who compose the legislation committees of Socialism, an injustice—they may be outdoing the old Roman Committee experts. The clever modern plan of corraling the Government by including in their list of demands every possible act that was ever thought of by themselves or others—every theoretical act that is at all even thinkable. This leaves the Government no chance to escape; if they pass any legislation whatever it must of necessity come within the limits of one or another of the demands on the list and is therefore claimed as a victory for Socialism.

We might go further and say that the same game is practiced in every city where there is a militant organization of Socialists, and this means every city or town of any considerable size in Europe and America. As long as the confiding working class can be deluded into furnishing the means, there will be no lack of organizers willing to work on the job at four dollars a day and expenses. But the idea that even a strong force of these mechanical organizers (at four dollars a day and expenses) can succeed in constructing and installing, in the whole world, entirely new machinery that will work on entirely new and untested principles, for governing the human race in the 20th century, is, to my mind, undertaking what is far beyond their scope; even in these days of stupendous works and mighty undertaking—the contract is too great—there are too many engineering difficulties to be met and overcome—the available material will have to undergo a long process of refinement before it can be safely used, or depended on as a durable substance for even the foundation of such a structure; yet this is what these organizers tell their constituents they are going to do.

Once more, for the sake of argument, let us question these organizers as to their plans as far as they have worked them out, to see what the prospects are for the completion of this contract that they propose to let out to some firm in that line of business. To begin with, they tell us that their general plan is first to pull down the old buildings, rip out the old machinery and throw it into the scrap heap and then go to work and advertise for tenders for new buildings and the new machinery—the kind they propose to put up in place of the old. They tell us this new machinery is to work automatically, requiring little or no supervision—the power to drive it is to cost little or nothing—they wax enthusiastic as they describe the great advantages of this new contrivance and point, with apparent pride, to its many excellent qualities in much the same way that an enterprising agent for a cure-all patent medicine would argue to show the many advantages his nostrum possessed over the old methods.

Our next question would naturally be, why pull down the old structure and destroy the old machinery before you have provided new material for the new building or have even got out the plans and drawings for the new machinery? Surely this is not a logical or business-like method? "Oh," they say in reply, "we must pull down the old buildings and destroy the old machinery so as to create an absolute necessity for replacing them, for as long as they remain there will be a certain amount



of opposition to the change. If we destroy the old plant at once they will be obliged to consent to a new plant; besides we are not prepared to undertake the task of reconstruction; that is the work of posterity" (vide Keir Hardie).

It is in the light which this analysis throws upon present-day Socialist schemes that I appeal to "workers of the world" to pause and consider well whether it would be wiser for them to "bear the ills they have, rather than fly to others they know not of." They may keep on indefinitely paying a heavy tax to uphold an institution that can give them no guarantee of success beyond optimistic dreams and dim, shadowy glimpses of a better future.

Socialists may talk about a peaceful revolution that will secure all that is demanded for Socialism, but they cannot be sincere for they must know that much that they demand cannot be obtained without a class war of such magnitude that it would in any case crush the laboring class to an extremity they little dream of now.

The world of the so-called wealthy class of today is not ignorant of the conditions and just claims of the so-called middle or lower classes of society, and more particularly of that known as the poor class.

Never before in the world's history was there a time when the people possessed of means displayed greater sympathy for those less fortunate in this respect. Never before was there a time when the governing class—as they are called (erroneously)—displayed more zeal on behalf of the working class; and never was there a time when the working class met with greater consideration on the part of leading men in literature and education. To claim that all this has been brought about solely through the agency of Socialism is to invite ridicule and contempt. With a form of government, based on the principle that the majority rules; that has been under test for so long, continually at work on some measure of reform of one kind or another, always aiming at improving methods and forms of legislation, always leading the rest of the world—especially in matters relating to the freedom and welfare of the subject—will any reasonable person claim that such a government could not, would not, or did not take the initiative in a measure for the benefit, not only of the working class but all of the people of Great Britain long before Karl Marx was born. The merest tyro in history could point to whole sessions of parliament being devoted to the discussion and passing of acts specially intended for the benefit of the poorer classes, no matter which party happened to be in power.

Let us once more look back a few years and take a brief glance at the changes that have taken place in the creeds of such leaders as Leibknechts, Marx and all the other celebrated first leaders in Germany. It is only a few years ago that the whole aggregation were fulminating against the Christian religion. A single passage from Leibknecht's paper (*Volkstaat*) in 1875 stands for the opinions of them all, at that time. He then laid down the duty of Socialism in regard to religion in the following words:

"It is our duty as Socialists to root out the faith in God with all our

zeal; nor is anyone worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism."

Leader Schall was applauded at that period when he said, "We open war upon God because He is the greatest evil in the world."

But, with the experience gained in the last twenty-five years, the shrewdest of Socialist leaders have found that religion had a much deeper hold upon large masses and classes, especially in the farming districts, than the old leaders had dreamed of. They have learned that religion was a larger fact than they saw embraced in any church, Catholic or Protestant; they learned that even were it only a superstition it had taken such deep root that it had permeated society so thoroughly and carried with it such vital force and influence, that it must inevitably take generations to overthrow it.

The Socialist policy in Germany today is to ignore religious beliefs and leave that question severely alone. Socialism in Germany has also found that it is equally necessary to modify its position towards the agrarian interests, as it has failed to hold the small land owners to the belief that they would be better off to give up their farms to the state and trust the state to provide for them.

The above remarks will apply to France as well as Germany.

In France, Socialism found the small land owners formed an insurmountable barrier to their creed of abolishing all private ownership in property. The French peasant population would not stand for this proposition, and Socialism could not advance against such an opposition; so that in France as well as in Germany, Socialism is today halting and temporizing, but in England Socialism is more rampant and aggressive than ever before for the very reason that it has not yet met with any serious opposition. The fulmination of its leaders are eagerly listened to by the masses to whom it is a new idea—a new experience. The glowing and almost fascinating picture of Socialism that is held up before the uninitiated is doing its work. Organizers, who have left the more favorable fields in Germany and France, are meeting with greater success now in the hitherto unworked fields of England and America, which accounts for the rapid progress that has recently been made, and that it is now making.

### SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

The indiscreet manner in which some men, holding high positions as educators, give public expression to their personal or private beliefs in the matters of theology, is one of the leading causes of much of the unrest that is to be found in present day social life. Such expressions have a tendency to disturb that equilibrium which is so desirable and necessary to maintain a proper balance. Take the recent case of Ex-President Eliot's forecasting a new religion. Now there might be hundreds of ordinary men holding views exactly similar to those expressed by President Eliot, men living among their equals, following the ordinary avocations of life—their peculiar personal views would cause neither doubt or unrest among their neighbors or be noticed by the press. In the case of President Eliot his forecast of a new religion was at once reproduced in

almost every newspaper throughout the land, and read in almost every household—in many cases, no doubt, taken in the lilt of a prophecy. His word would carry great weight with many readers, whereas the same views held by an ordinary man would not be noticed at all. The religious convictions of thousands will no doubt be (seriously, in cases) disturbed, especially those whose minds are not prepared to receive such advanced conceptions in their proper light.

Again, there are those whose minds had been previously poisoned by the cheap literary criticisms which are rendered so catching to untrained intellects, or those who had already been warped and soured by hard conditions such as would render them willing victims to any new idea that would give them encouragement to pull down an institution which in their estimation contributed to their hardship. Minds under such conditions are ready to grasp at anything new, whether it be in the line of a new religion or a new social system if it is supported by some leader who can be heard through the press. Science is appealed to as backing the plea that it is better to openly discuss certain question in order that the truth may be discerned, regardless of consequences; but I fail to see that it is properly the work of science to disrupt or overturn the fixed institutions of human society, at least until science has demonstrated that there is a system available, more truthful and better adapted for meeting the present needs of humanity.

Some writers in their advocacy of Socialism go so far as to use the term "Scientific Socialism." This must be a misnomer, as it does not exist in fact; one might just as well use the term "Scientific Spiritualism." But it is a scientific fact that a theory may be advanced which cannot be scientifically disproved for the reason that somewhere in the realms of infinite space there might be found facts to support the theory advanced; but that does not entitle the theory itself to recognition as a scientific theory. The theory of President Eliot is of this nature.

Our age is producing a bounteous crop of theories that pose under scientific titles, many of which might more properly be called Scientific Fads. Fads that would never have passed the stage of infancy were it not for the prominence given them through the powerful agency of the press. Dr. Osler's few remarks made in an after dinner speech to some students about chloroforming men after a certain age is a fair sample of what the press can do in this particular respect. It furnished a text for a newspaper scientific discussion that was carried on for several years, in fact we hear echoes of it yet. If any less prominent speaker had said the same thing it might never have been heard of again.

### SUFFRAGETTES AND SOCIALISM.

It would have been a difficult task to persuade the staid matrons and modest maidens of fifty years ago that such sights as are now almost daily to be seen in the streets of London were possible. No doubt it would be equally difficult to persuade the titled lady "suffragette" of today that perhaps in much less time than fifty years hence, it would be possible, if

the suffragettists and Socialists succeed in their present aims, that the greater part of the women of London may be found doing hard labour that now falls to the lot of the men, while the men would be their official superiors and taskmasters.

It would be all but certain that under a Socialist regime the men would get elected to all official positions. Women would not vote each other into such positions from sheer jealousy, while men would conspire and work upon that jealous weakness to secure their own election. Let the Countess of ———, whose portrait adorned the pages of our daily newspapers a few days ago as a leading suffragette, imagine herself drawing lots for a choice of employment. She might be so unfortunate as to draw the post of street sweeper and would be compelled, by the very doctrine she is now upholding, to abide by the decision, for it has been seen that no opposition to rules laid down by the social system will be tolerated. The idea that each individual (under Socialist regulations) will be allowed to choose his or her employment is simply an impossible one—the only practicable way will be to decide that question by lottery, and the decision of the lottery rigidly enforced, otherwise it is self evident that utter confusion would ensue. At first the women might be allowed some advantage over the men, but this could hardly be expected to continue as a permanent right. The inevitable fate of women under communistic rule would be that she would again become the drudge for the man.

The whole trend of the scheme points to this: the wife could only retain her position as such by becoming the slave of the transient or temporary husband, like the squaw wife of aboriginal red men. She would have to toil, while the lazy husband took his ease.

When in Calgary, at the time the rails of the C. P. R. were first laid to that point, I was much interested in the study of the habits and customs of a band of the Sarcee tribe of Indians located on a reserve close to the present city. I have seen a squaw, several miles from camp, hitched between long poles like a horse between two shafts; the poles dragged behind her. Across the poles was lashed a large bundle of faggots—as much as she was able to drag along. As I was travelling in the same direction I watched her until she reached her tent, and there I found her lordly husband lying in the sunshine quietly smoking his pipe and taking things easy. Upon further enquiry I found that he was the owner of a pony, but would not allow his squaw to use it for hauling wood—the pony was kept for racing purposes only—racing with the mounted police force was the popular sport at that time.

Now, these Indians were practically living under a Socialist regime. Under their tribal regulations their domestic life was essentially Socialistic, not perhaps, what would be called advanced Socialism, but they had liberty, equality, fraternity, communism and so on. There was certainly no wealthy class or monopolists among them; but still they did not appear to me to be a particularly happy lot of human beings—in fact, they looked very miserable—didn't appear to be enjoying life to any great extent. Some of their customs and habits would appear rather shocking even from a suffragette's moral point of view; for instance, Indian fathers

would sell their girl children to white men who had been working on railway construction and were camped for the winter nearby. The girl would be the temporary wife and slave of the white purchaser to be returned to her own camp when the laborer's camp broke up in the spring. The young Indian girls would be so eager for this change in their dreary lives that they would display their personal charms in the most attractive and captivating manner before a prospective purchaser, in order that she might find favor in his sight.

I had previously visited an Indian reserve (Tuscarora, near Brantford) where the tribal habits, customs and superstitions had been replaced by those of a Christian community and the laws of civilized society. There I found a state of society quite equal to that of white people in the neighborhood, I heard young Indian girls singing in the choir of their well-appointed church. I heard an Indian preach the Gospel of Christ in a sermon that would do credit to many of his white clerical brethren. I saw a congregation of over a hundred, well dressed, orderly and intelligent-looking men, women and children leaving the church for their homes, and when I visited some of these homes I found books, pictures, music, and all that is usually found in the home of a well-to-do farmer.

When the conditions of the camp at Calgary and the settlement of Tuscarora are compared, the question that will naturally present itself is: What agency brought about such a decided advance in the moral, social and industrial condition of one tribe as compared with the other?

For any one to claim that it was entirely owing to the influence of religion would hardly be a just claim, for these Indians had accepted their religious teaching as they had accepted and adopted all other lessons learned by them from the civilized community amongst which they dwelt. It was the reversal of the teachings of that kind of Socialism under which they had been living for centuries, combined with the influence of that Christianity which the Socialist propaganda of today is seeking to destroy. That Christianity which some people, in their eagerness to gain popularity among so-called advanced thinkers, are unwisely trying to discredit by calling its fundamental doctrines a superstition. These same people must realize that had it not been for the spread of knowledge and intelligence through the agency of Christianity—superstition or no superstition—that the race from which they are descended would not yet, perhaps, have risen above that of an uncivilized and barbarous state. If to sneer at and discredit the very agency that made men of science at all possible in this age is to be the work of scientific minds, the world might, with some advantage, do without them and their discoveries about superstition for some generations to come. The good they claim to be doing for the masses of struggling humanity is of a very questionable nature.

I cannot believe that the more intelligent and thoughtful people of the Anglo-Saxon race are prepared to trust to scientific experimenters in matters of religion any more than they are prepared to trust matters of government, social, political and industrial, to the class who claim to have devised new and better forms, more especially as that class is least adapt-

ed by experience for the accomplishment of such a difficult and complicated work. If this hypothesis should prove to be well founded, as to the views of a majority of the sane, thinking people, they will no doubt decide that it will be wise to stand by the old institutions, at least until there is more substantial proof produced that the new propositions would be still better adapted for securing the advancement of the race.

### SOCIAL UNREST.

Within a few months past the world has been treated to an object lesson by the strike of government employes in France. To those who look to state ownership and state management of public utilities as a cure-all, the lesson should be taken to heart. I need not go into details, as the occurrence has been so recent that it must be fresh in the minds of all who take notice of such matters.

One of the main points to be gathered from the lesson is that it makes clear, to a demonstration, that the working men were not satisfied with their condition—that there was unrest—and discontent where there was no middle men or capitalists concerned, but where all were paid servants of the state, one of the most democratic in Europe.

The strike was simply the result of a family quarrel—a disagreement between the lower order of workers and the higher order of overseers and supervisors—those who were more directly responsible to the still higher governing body, who were, in turn, responsible to a majority of the people.

But we need not go so far from home for illustrations on this point. Take our Government owned and operated railways, the post office, canals, etc. Recently I read a long letter in one of our leading newspapers wherein a railway postal clerk complained most bitterly of the treatment of his class and comparing, unfavorably, his condition with that of the train conductor of the capitalist owned and operated railway.

Still again, we have our government building a new railway that, when finished, is to be handed over to a private company to operate, manifestly on the ground that it will be better for the general good of the country to do so than to attempt operating it as a Government work. The experience gained in operating the Intercolonial no doubt had much to do with this decision.

The point I wish to make by this diversion is that perhaps nowhere else can be found a more vigorous set of grumblers and malcontents than the workers under a Government department head. Experience teaches that where public utilities are owned and operated by municipal corporations the same trouble is found.

It is thus proven that the nationalization and municipalization of public utilities does not and cannot remove unrest and discontent on the part of the working men employed.

It would appear as if progress—within the meaning in which that term is now used—carried with it its own disquietude and discontent. The greater the progress, the more intense becomes the unrest. Where religious and political equality have been achieved there is now the cry for social and industrial equality.

That part of our social life which is included in politics and economics will never be freed from the delirium and dangers of unreal hopes and futile schemes, until it is disciplined by the weight of duties and obligations—such duties and obligations as are imposed in justly governing the people and managing the industrial life of the nation. This lesson has been learned, perhaps to the greatest extent, in Belgium; it is now being learned in Germany and France, and it will have to be learned in Great Britain and America sooner or later, by that portion of the community that has hitherto taken no heavier burden, in this respect, than finding fault with those who have.

Taking Belgium as the country in which Socialism appears at its best today, we find that the eight hours per day for labor is no longer demanded by workers, simply because they have learned that it is impracticable, unless Germany, France and England adopted it at the same time. The claim that workmen would produce as much in eight hours as they would in ten, is dismissed as idle talk when the work is done mostly by machinery.

We have frequently heard it affirmed that Great Britain was the most Democratic country in Europe. If it were now claimed that it was the country where Social Democracy was becoming more dominant it would be quite as near the truth, but the difference between pure Democracy and Social Democracy is very great. Of pure Democracy we know something tangible, but of Social Democracy, or in other words, Revolutionary Socialism, we know practically as little, beyond what idealists have set forth, as we do about a fourth dimension.

By experience we know all about the three dimensions, but about a fourth we can only vaguely think and speculate.

That society should be just, free and paternal wins ready assent, but how is this splendid goal to be reached? Bacon, St. Simon and Plato have told us we have only to make our wisest and best men our rulers, but here again we are met with the question, how is this to be done?

As matters stand at present we profess to be trying to select our wisest and best men for our political rulers, but how far have we been successful?

What progress has the United States made in this direction since the Declaration of Independence? What advance have we here in Canada made towards selecting our wisest and best men to represent us in Parliament since Confederation? Measured by the rate of progress in the past, how long will it be before we have the wisest and best men ruling over us? Bacon, St. Simon and Plato never had the experience of a modern election contest or they would not have suggested such an Utopian idea as a practical scheme. The merest school boy in political economy can see that so long as the present system is in vogue there is little chance of the wisest and best men being selected as our rulers. There is a class of people who would like to be considered as both wise and good, who are ready with advice as to how the peace of the world may be secured. They claim that this great boon, for which hu-



manity longs, may be secured by the simple method of all nations agreeing not to fight any more!

It is a grand conception and a credit to the would-be wise and good people who conceived it. But there, again, the average school boy would butt in by saying this remedy was as incomplete as the political cure—it also lacks one important ingredient—that is, the force that will be competent to compel all the nations to enter into such an agreement.

Now we have the Socialist with his ideal remedy for the cure of all political disease, all social troubles, all industrial differences, and, incidentally, war.

Let us briefly examine his proposed great remedy. He begins with the modest proposition that all nationalities must (mind the word must) be abolished, and that all the people must become Socialists.

Then (this idealist argues) there would be no national competition, no national jealousy, greed or selfishness, and consequently, no cause for war between nations.

There is to be, then, only one race of mankind, one state, one religion (atheism), one creed, one opinion (as to what is right and what is wrong), one brotherhood of man, with no possibility of discord or disagreement, for all future time, for the reason that all cause for such would be forever eliminated; but just here the persistent average school boy again interjects the query, where is the power, the force that is competent to compel these universal movements?

Here again the important ingredient is wanting. But the enthusiastic Socialist will nevertheless exclaim that Socialism is coming "as sure as night follows day" (as my friend "Veritas" did), and he will point, as proof of its coming, to the fact that cities and towns in all parts of the world are adopting the principles of state ownership of the public utilities.

Well, this may be a sign to give hope to the Socialist dreamer, but it looks to me to be as far distant as the star of hope that Dante saw when he was in hades. No, the regeneration of the social system will not come suddenly by any mere proposition or the dreams of idealists. It will not come through the extension of the franchise, nor yet through a restriction of the franchise, if that were possible. The social world of idealism will not come at all. It would be an unreal world, it would be ideal, which in this case means impracticable, impossible.

#### DEFINING SOCIALISM.

If I were to attempt to briefly define Socialism, I could not do it better than by repeating Professor Butler

In one single sentence he has provided us with a whole volume of conceptions, when he says "Socialism would destroy the world's efficiency for the purpose of redistributing the world's discontent."

To attempt to improve upon his meaning by amplification would but detract from his concise but luminous expression.

A wide grasp, a far-reaching outlook and a comprehensive summing up of the whole question is focussed in that one sentence, so that it

may well be left as it stands. It should be to us a point of light, a registered brand of truth stamped upon the mind, not to be brushed aside or obscured by any kind of sophistry, however subtle or extended. It carries with it a penetrating force, a reasoning weight and conclusive rendering that cannot be misconstrued except by minds so clogged and beclouded by prejudice and passion, as to be incapable of recognizing any truth except it coincides with what that mind has preconceived to be truth.

This lucid definition of Professor Butler is like a searchlight turned on a dark landscape where objects that were invisible, are, by the aid of this light, clearly to be discerned. It conveys to the mind the concrete fact that the world's discontent is not going to be eliminated by the advent of Socialism, but that it would only be redistributed, and that at the cost of the world's efficiency.

Let us contrast these words of wisdom, deep and far reaching in scope and meaning, with the unbounded optimism and child-like faith exhibited in the utterances of such leading Socialists as Keir Hardie when he says, in the soothing language of the nursery, that Socialists do not worry themselves about the future—that they are only to concern themselves with making the coming of the Socialist regime possible, "resting in the full assurance that it will shape itself aright when it does come, that progress and development may be safely left to take care of themselves." The world's efficiency under Socialism has never troubled them; they do not even give it a serious thought.

Is not such callous disregard of the future enough to cause people to shrink in dismay and alarm from a scheme that is left to chance as far as its future is concerned? Is it not sufficient to cause thoughtful people to shudder in dread and fear for the future of the race? Is the world of common sense and reason to cast off its responsibilities and high aims and join the frivolous crowd of child-like optimists who are running after vain, vague and delusive fancies? Has the constant repetition of a few popular phrases, a few stereotyped platitudes of the discontented class, taken such an overwhelming grip on the more sober and thoughtful of the people that they are losing faith in their institutions and in their experiences that have been accumulating through long centuries of trial and struggle, and are becoming willing experimenters in a fancy dress carnival of madness and social debauch?

Surely this cannot be possible? Yet we have it in evidence, as strong as evidence can make it, that leading statesmen, men in high official positions in our Government at the very centre of this great Empire, are dallying with this dangerous propaganda for the sake of securing their votes.

"The poor you have always with you," said a wise man of old. If he had lived in our time he might well have added "also the discontented."

Will the lot of the poor and the discontented be made permanently better by the confiscation of the world's wealth, and the destruction of the world's efficiency? Were the idle rich, about which there is such an out-

cry, totally eliminated and their wealth distributed among the laboring classes, how long would it suffice to meet their wants?

Would there not soon be good cause for another outcry against the lazy, thriftless and idle poor that squandered the world's wealth and destroyed the world's efficiency to gratify their senseless longing for equality, idleness and luxury, which would soon render them unfit to act as producers. Socialist leaders do not point to any plan devised for conserving the wealth they propose taking away from present owners. As long as it lasted it would simply be used to debauch the proletariat who, in turn, would vote into office the demagogues who favored their views, flattered their vanity, and pandered to their vicious tastes.

A race, no matter what race, under such conditions would soon become the slaves of some other race more efficient and better equipped to rule. This has been the experience of our world in all times past and history would but keep on repeating the record so long as similar conditions and causes contrive to produce similar effects.

#### RETROSPECTIVE.

Going back to social evolution, let us enquire what science has done towards teaching us how to regard the ever shifting and changing scenes that are manifested in social life. Taking the last half of the nineteenth century as the most remarkable in the history of human thought, and the revolution following Darwin's application of the doctrine of evolution; science is described as having greatly affected the entire intellectual belief of western civilization. History, economics, the science of politics, and the attitude of science to religious life, religious phenomena, and the sciences dealing with man in society, have all been profoundly affected. In fact, the whole plan of life has been revealed to us in a new light and we are beginning to perceive that it presents a single majestic unity, throughout every part of which the conditions of law and orderly progress reign supreme. All this being granted let us go still further and enquire what science is now doing towards helping to solve the problems which these great evolutionary changes have produced. In the first place we find uncertainty, change, a state of transition appears on every side where knowledge of social affairs are concerned, and that despite the great advance which science has made in every other direction there is yet no science of human society—properly so-called.

Orthodox scientists are not dealing with, or paying the attention to this branch that its great importance demands. They have left it to such social revolutionists as Karl Marx and his numerous following.

Herbert Spencer undertook one of the most stupendous works ever attempted when he undertook the unification of knowledge. He devoted a lifetime to the work and yet with all his acknowledged ability and his extended labor, he left the social problem to be dealt with according to the opinions held by one class or by another—or in other words, to the diametrically opposed camps of the individualists and the collectivists, in which society today is divided.

Benjamin Kidd, in his great work on social evolution says in regard to this point:

"Judged from the utterances of her spokesmen, science, whose great triumph in the nineteenth century has been the tracing of the steps in the evolution of life up to human society, stands now dumb before the problems presented by that society as it exists around us. As regards its further evolution science appears to have no clear message."

Mr. Kidd does not hesitate to charge Herbert Spencer with having been afraid of the Socialists, while on the other hand he charges Professor Schaffle with extreme rashness for claiming that the future belonged to a sort of purified Socialism. As for Henry George, Mr. Kidd represents him as holding a position midway between the two extremes, but gradually disappearing from view as a force or power.

From this point of view, it will be seen that civilization is without scientific knowledge of the laws of life and development, or the principles which underlie the process of social evolution that is proceeding around us. Social life has broken with the past; it is launched on a new era of experience which has no parallel as a guide. Science that boasts of having done so much towards bringing about this great change is seemingly helpless to guide or control the present or the future under the new conditions, and as a result of these conditions we have the fact that civilization is already dividing itself into the two great hostile camps of individualism and collectivism, each claiming the right to dominate the future social life of the world.

The strife between the two hostile camps has already assumed such intensity that there is seemingly little hope of a speedy or peaceful settlement of the differences existing between them. We have the opinions of the ablest men freely circulated through the press from day to day, in all the countries of Europe and America, that our civilization is face to face with an impending crisis, that it is about to undergo one of the severest trials known in history, and in consequence of this, there is a feeling abroad among the people of insecurity and unrest that amounts almost to a foreboding dread for the future welfare of the race.

Another fact that forces itself into notice is, that instead of science being engaged in a search for means to mitigate or remove this strife between the classes, she is busied with inventions for the purpose of more rapid destruction of life and property, such as flying warships, submarine destroyers, dreadnoughts, explosives and a host of other means for carrying on warfare on a more destructive scale. More than this, science is placing in the hands of the discontented and revolting class weapons for the destruction of those of the people who would yet deem it desirable to hold fast to some of the institutions evolved from the experiences of the past, as a guide for the present and future.

The cunningly devised and deadly revolver that can be carried concealed on the person, the still more deadly bomb that can be quietly and secretly dropped among armed or unarmed and unsuspecting crowds, or that can be used for the instant destruction of the greatest buildings or ships, are made available, through the aid of science, to any one disposed

to use them as a power to enforce their will or wish. There are a hundred and one other ways that might be mentioned in which science has made it possible for a few reckless, lawless fanatics to hold a nation in terror, to check all means of healthy progress and to disrupt all the functions of civilized life—these, I say, are some of the things, the many great things, that science has contributed towards the advance of civilization of late years. Would it be right to call them benefits? Would it be rational to say that science has done these things for the general good of humanity and that humanity should be duly thankful? In a word, humanity has gone mad running after science that leads to nothing but a multiplication of the means of destruction, with a few minor side issues thrown off from time to time of a peaceful nature.

Again, science may be held directly responsible for the creation of much of the discord and unrest that exists in the world today. Is it not high time that the scientific minds of the age should turn their attention to the more commonplace and practical things that effect the masses of humanity, and to strengthening the weak points in the social system, for that there are many such cannot be denied? If science is ever to dominate the well-being of the human race science must be more consistent and more general in the distribution of benefits. Science is spending huge treasures in digging and delving to unearth the secrets of that past—the past that is so despised—and holding up the discoveries that are thus being made as showing that our beliefs in our very best institutions of the present age are not scientifically true—that they are based upon traditions, superstition and myths. How or in what way are the great masses being benefited by these grand discoveries? Viewed from this standpoint it would seem as if science were leading society into an unknown region for experimental exploitation, seeking for the unknown and unsubstantial and leaving behind all that is real and good. This is not evolution at all, much less scientific evolution; it is merely one of the millions of incidents that go towards making up a whole forward movement, and it is therefore liable to be met by a reaction, the first symptoms of which we may see in the possible upheaval through the agency of the Socialist movement.

### FREEDOM OR LICENSE?

Our Government is so jealous of the freedom of the King's subjects that the Royal mail affords equal facilities to the loyal, law-abiding citizen and the plotting enemy against all Government. Those who are laying plans to abolish monarchy, those who are openly boasting of how many of the King's soldiers they have succeeded in winning over to treason and anarchy (soldiers whom the peaceable and faithful citizen is dependent on for protection of life and property, are using the mails and telegraphs and other public utilities in carrying on their treasonable work without let or hindrance. Those who are openly giving instructions to the more extreme and violent characters among their following, how to make and use the most effective and deadly explosives that science has placed within the reach of man, are able to make use of all the means

of transportation and distribution that are available to the merchant in carrying on his legitimate trade. Those who use the printing presses to assist them in disseminating their fulminations against capitalism and tyranny of class, are free to do all that the Doctor, the Lawyer, the Preacher and the other professional men (whom Socialists class under the name of "fakirs") are permitted to do. They have equal liberty in every detail to carry on their trade and vocation, which is to overthrow and destroy the liberties which are now enjoyed by all alike.

It is not so very long ago that much of what these people are now able to do openly, calling for and all the facilities which modern society enjoys, would have been viewed as treasonable actions and treated as such. Much of what such people are openly permitted to teach and preach would have been looked upon as rebellious and criminal, as against the safety and well being of the state and the peace of the community; but now, as a result of the operations of scientific politics, the safety, peace and well being of the state and the good order and progress of the community is subordinated and exposed to sacrifice in order that a popular idea of liberty, which is tantamount to license, may be maintained. The law may pretend to afford protection against an organization that threatens the overthrow of the stable institutions of the state, and to jeopardize the safety of life and property, but in a case of this kind the protection of the law may come too late; it may prove to have delayed too long in taking action.

Liberty is a thing most admirable in itself, but that kind of liberty which permits one class of a community, admittedly not the wisest or the best, to make war on another class, to use the means the state supplies in order to fortify and strengthen their position like skilful generals, day after day, month after month, and year after year, and all this time it is well known that their ultimate aim is to destroy, not only their law-abiding fellow citizens, but also to destroy the whole of the functions of the state as well—and all this under the claim of the liberty of the subject—I say that kind of liberty which permits all this is not true liberty in any sense of that word; it is rather the most dangerous and unwarrantable kind of license.

A liberty that is too great to be safely entrusted in the hands of many of those who would be termed an educated class, is still more unsafe when placed in the hands of the uneducated of any country within the limits of what is today known as Western civilization, for in their hands it becomes a license which they in their eagerness to turn it to their own special benefit, will not hesitate to use for the undoing of that class which they look upon as their common enemy.

A liberty that permits demagogues of the most pronounced kind to sit in the National Parliament and to take part in all the functions of government, and to use their positions for the purpose of spreading their treasonable doctrines, that permits demagogues to preside in the halls of justice to pervert truth and the principles that underlie justice, to undermine and destroy all that can be depended upon for the maintenance of that stable and just government which has been the boast of

people of the Anglo-Saxon race for centuries past—that form of government which the rest of the world is seeking to imitate—I repeat, the liberty that permits all this is permitting a license which cannot be safely trusted in the hands of many in any single community in Europe today—scientific political economists to the contrary notwithstanding.

In a recent work on "Labor and Capital," Professor Goldwin Smith, when referring to International Unionism, wrote as follows:

"Organizations founded for an aggressive purpose are naturally apt to fall into the hands of the most aggressive and least responsible section. . . . There is also a danger of falling into the hands of aspiring leaders whose field is industrial war. This danger increases with the extension of the field, and still further when to leadership in political agitation is added the importance which it bestows and the prospects of advancement which it opens. Power newly won and flushed with victory seldom stops at the line of right. . . . Union men seem now to be going on to create a monopoly of labor. To this the community never have submitted and never can submit. Freedom of contract is the rightful inheritance of every man and the vital interest of all.

"The defensive forces of the community are slow to gather to resist usurpation. But they will gather at last, and when they do the end is certain."

When I find that such an eminent authority as Professor Goldwin Smith has this to say in regard to the aggressive nature of unionism, I feel encouraged to go on and to plainly and fearlessly endeavor to present Socialism in its true light, for it seems to me the work of doing this has already been too long neglected.

NOTE.—Since the matter under this head was written, an event has occurred in London which gave reason for the following despatch to the press in this country. I insert it here in support of the sentiment expressed some months before:

### TO SUPPRESS ANARCHY.

#### International Action Will Be Taken Against Agitators.

London, Eng., Jan. 9, 1911.—International action to stamp out anarchy will be, it is predicted here, a development of the near future. To the average Londoner, intensely excited over last Tuesday's sensational fight in Sidney street, the suggestion is welcome.

He is convinced that something more is needed than ordinary police measures and the conventional criminal codes of modern states.

Expression is given to the spreading sentiment by a forceful, but dispassionate writer who asks if all sensible men will not agree with him in thinking that altogether too little attention is paid by the great powers of Europe, America and Asia to the need and feasibility of concerted steps to stamp out enemies of order.

If the powers cannot arrange for concerted action, he argues they might bring about simultaneous individual action to effect the "whole miserable brood of London's Peter the Painters" and Tokio Kotokus and



Barcelona bomb hurlers, and Rome Mafia men, and New York and Chicago's Black Hand pests.

In Paris, where the prevailing view is that the duty of leadership in a campaign for international action against anarchy rests with France and the United States, because of their republican character, the point is made that "The mere existence of The Hague tribunal paves the way for indefinite multiplication of mutual defence measures."

### NATIONALIZING RAILWAYS.

Socialist leaders and organizers are directing their efforts at the present time, in a particular way, to bring about the nationalization of railways. They are paying particular attention to the business of stirring up discontent and strife between railway employes and their employers with the object of forcing the railways to seek refuge in government ownership, as I have already stated in the pamphlet referred to in the introduction.

As the railway interests of the Dominion are of such immense proportions when compared with manufacturing and other industrial operations, it renders the proposition of nationalizing them one of supreme importance, both to capital and labor, as well as to all other interests. It is claimed by Socialist leaders that if the railways were owned and operated by the state that a great saving could be made in the working expenses, as much as twenty-five per cent. Now, let us enquire how this could be done. Fuel, one of the heaviest items of working expenses, would necessarily remain much the same—no reduction in that item could be counted on. Repairs to locomotives and cars would have to be kept up as well under the state as under private ownership, so that no cut in that direction could be counted on either. In fact, this item would more likely increase under state control. The next most expensive item is the maintenance of tracks, bridges, buildings, etc.—these would also have to be kept up and any practical railway man will admit that no marked reduction in that line is possible. The same may be said of all other departments, for it may be assumed as a fact that the managers of railways are obliged to keep down the working expenses in order to earn enough to pay the interest on bonds and a dividend to stockholders. This being the case, where is the saving of twenty or twenty-five per cent. going to come from? Unthinking men claim that it can mainly be secured by doing away with so many managers. Let us see what this would result in. The working expenses of the railways in England, in round figures, are about \$375,000,000 yearly; twenty per cent. reduction would mean a saving of \$65,000,000. Now let us say that twenty General Managers at a salary of \$10,000 each, per year, were dispensed with. This would amount to \$200,000, and would still leave \$64,800,000 of the estimated reduction to be met in some other way. What way? Suppose all the General Managers were dispensed with, and all the Presidents and Directors—you would not have more than a reduction of half a million and there would be only one way of carrying the reduction down further, and that would be a cut in the labor expense, that could only be done by a

reduction of the number, or a reduction of wages; in either case the whole weight would fall directly upon labor.

Again, it is claimed by the leaders of Socialism that if the railways were owned and operated by the state that the rates could be lowered to patrons. This claim is equally baseless when examined. At the present time, and for years past, the average amount of interest earned, over working expenses, on the capital invested in English railways, is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; to reduce rates to any extent that would be felt by the general public or that would benefit the public to any marked degree, would no doubt reduce this return for actual money invested, which would at once have the effect of capital withdrawing from railway enterprise and seeking investment elsewhere. But it has been claimed that much of this stock upon which  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is paid is "watered" stock. How much of it is so? It is easy to make such a general charge with the object of impeaching the evidence given above, but are those who make it prepared with any actual statement of what percentage of the stock of English railways is watered stock? If they will produce that statement I will produce another statement to show that there has been a greater amount of railway stock wiped out as worthless and railway stock that has never paid one cent of a return, than any amount of watered stock there is now in existence.

Let us examine the prospect for state owned and operated railways from another standpoint. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the state might earn a surplus over and above  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on capital investment—who would get the benefit of it? Would the employees get it? Do the employees of state railways in Germany and France fare any better than the same class in England? Are not the state officials of Germany and France just as anxious to run the railway systems economically in order to secure earnings as the managers of English railways are to earn dividends? Why? It is because the Governments of these countries want to use the surplus earnings of railways to reduce the general taxation which is bearing so heavily on all the people—this is why railway employees do not get any special benefit, either in the way of shorter hours or higher wages. It would be the same in England or in Canada.

If all the railways of England and Canada were to pass into the hands of the Government tomorrow railway employees would have far more reason to complain than they have today.

If the Government took over all the systems and lines of railways in this country they would require a perpetual arbitration board; not one, but several, because there would be such terms imposed on employees as they have not been called on to submit to heretofore and there would be no end of grievances to adjust—or to submit to, failing adjustment.

I have previously referred to the dissatisfaction of employees now engaged on state owned enterprises. There is no evidence available at present to show that the causes of this dissatisfaction on the part of labor would be lessened by an increase of state owned concerns, such as the great railway systems of the country, but there is evidence available to

show that there would be a contrary result. In support of this statement I give below the opinion expressed by an English writer on this subject. Speaking of the operation of German railways he says:

"Instead of reducing the rates or improving the position of the employes, the Prussian Government has neglected for years to maintain the permanent way, to renew the rolling stock, or to materially improve the position of the employes, sacrificing everything to the intense desire to make as large a surplus as possible for the benefit of the general taxpayer, showing greater eagerness in that direction than any British railway company to earn a big dividend. While the latter are exceedingly sensitive to public opinion, increasingly conciliatory to their men, more responsive to the influence of Trade Unions, and more amenable to the power of the Board of Trade, the management of the Prussian State railways, equally with those of Austria and Belgium, are proverbially dilatory and resentful to outside influence; in fact, like Government officialism all the world over, it lacks the initiative, the energy, the intelligence, the genius, the promptitude and the spur of self-interest.

"It is machine-like, plodding, stiff, stilted, and being safeguarded against want and lack of employment, does not cultivate that alacrity and penetration which is the strongest feature of privately managed concerns. While under present conditions the manufacturer can get information as to the cost and the time for the carriage of goods within a day, and the associated workmen have their grievances and wants taken in hand within a very few weeks, it takes a Government department a fortnight to acknowledge a letter and weary months, and sometimes years, for grievances to be seriously dealt with."

I have just received information that the Prussian railways have been showing a deficit for the last two years.

To an old railway employe like myself it must seem strange that the unions, composed of railway men, should favor the policy of the Socialist so far as to vote as a body for the nationalization of railways.

At the annual conference of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants held in Glasgow on October 5, 1909, a resolution was carried with only two dissenting votes, demanding the nationalization of the railways of Great Britain. This must be viewed as an emphatic and open approval of Socialism.

Here again I would quote the authority\* of the English writer just referred to above. He says:

#### **SOCIALISM SPELLS DISASTER TO RAILWAY MEN.**

"If you enter upon the uncertain sea of Socialism you are pretty certain to lose all the advantages you now possess, and make it impossible for you to improve your position. At the present time the Board of Trade can and does exert great influence with companies on your be-

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\*T. R. Threlfall in his address on "Shall the Railways be Nationalized?"

half, but under state ownership that power would be against instead of for you. Now you have the moral support and active sympathy of the public in your efforts for improvement, whereas under state ownership the public, realizing that the better you were paid the less profits would be available for general division, would look coldly on your efforts, even if it did not oppose them.

"Today you have your Trade Unions and your conciliatory boards, but under state ownership all these would be swept away, for you would be Government employes and would have to obey orders from your 'superiors,' much more dictatorial and onerous than those you are now accustomed to. Now you have liberty to speak, vote and act, but under state ownership you would be cribbed, cabined and confined in a manner altogether foreign to the freedom you have been accustomed to as to freedom-loving Britons.

"If you are wise you will reject, in your own interests, the nationalization of the railways, for it is really a Socialistic device to crush your Trade Unions and rob you of your liberty."

The Post Office is frequently referred to, by advocates of Socialism, as an example of the success of state owned institutions. On this point I will again quote the same author. He says.

"The little finger of the state as an employer is more oppressive and crushing than the combined force of private railway companies.

"When the resolution in favor of railway nationalization was passed at the conference, the post office was instanced as an example of successful management. Although the working of that department is simplicity itself compared with any of our great railway systems, the treatment it metes out to its employes is exceedingly shabby when contrasted with what is accorded to you. Postmen, letter sorters, telegraph operators, etc., are bound down by conditions and are paid a rate of wages for really hard and difficult work against which you and your fellows would strike if any attempt were made to apply them to you . . .

"Any attempt on the part of post office employes to force their claim for better wages and improved conditions would be crushed with an iron hand, for even the most democratic Government, such as was in power in New South Wales when the great Australian strikes took place in 1890, did not hesitate to bring train loads of soldiers to shoot the strikers down. In other words, the state employer, having the military and police at its beck and call, holds the whip hand over its workmen to an extent altogether impossible for private companies."

#### MORE FALLACIES.

One of the fundamental fallacies of Socialists is to be found in the fact that they loudly and persistently announce that workers under the Socialist rule will receive all the benefits from what they produce, instead of only about one-third as under present conditions. Now, it is admitted that the official class, that is those employed in overseeing and managing, must necessarily be large in number, and that they will be non-producers, yet they will have to be housed, clothed and fed, and to

do this, each worker will have to contribute his quota—or, in other words, he will be taxed to support a governing class far more numerous than the present. How, then, can the worker receive all the product of his labor if a large percentage has to be taken to support a host of bureaucratic officials. The fallacy about equality being secured under the Social regime is equally clear, for how can a host of officials who do no labor, but are maintained for the very purpose of giving orders and instructions to the actual laborers, be considered other than a superior class? Or how can there even be equality of opportunity where a man is consigned to a class of labor that he detests—and perhaps is physically ill fitted to perform—if he is to rise at all, it must be through his success in the calling to which he has been assigned by ballot or arbitrary official command. But these are details which the park orator and astute organizer never by any possibility refer to; they keep such matters well in the background while they parade in glowing colors the imaginary great benefits that Socialism has in store for the poor wage slave that is being ground down to misery and premature death by the remorseless tyrant, Capitalist.

Those Socialist leaders who can be held down to answer a straight question are forced to admit that there cannot be, absolutely, either freedom or equality under Socialist rule, and yet these are the very things they hold up as sufficient to convince the proletariat of the righteousness of their cause. The success of the Socialist movement is not so much depending upon what its advocates say in its favor as it is on what they keep back unsaid. The drop curtain of their stage is covered with maxims, dictums, and platitudes, brilliantly illuminated, to be silently gazed at from pit and gallery, but it is never lifted to show the confusion that exists behind it. This is to a great extent the method adopted to deceive the eager but ignorant who are lured by the attractive show. The plan is to keep the imagination centered on the most pleasing and fascinating features and promises.

The whole presentation is as false and deceptive as the average prospectus of the gold mine company who have not yet located the mine let alone having produced any gold from it.

Still another fallacy is the claim that the state could perform the services for society that are now conducted by capitalists better and more economically without the capitalist. Socialists make this bald declaration without furnishing a single argument to prove how or by what method they could outdo the capitalists in such matters. These services for society would most surely not be rendered voluntarily by one portion of the community for the benefit of another portion. If the state undertakes such work in an efficient manner, it will absorb a certain amount of capital in one form or another and would, therefore, have to draw upon the general funds which would be equal to a tax upon the laborer—or, in other words, the state would still be paying interest—tax and interest in this case would mean the same thing. Then as to efficiency and economy, it is notorious that capitalist management is unrivalled in these very qualities; while bureaucratic management is as notorious for deficiency.

In fact, it is difficult for one to conceive how it would be at all possible for the State under a Socialist system to manage a great steamship line or a transcontinental railway system without giving absolute control into the hand of one man as manager.

A board of directors or a commission is all very well, but in either case they must still have a one man head to act for them and upon whom they must depend for the efficient management of the enterprise. If those in the employ are to elect this head, and the officials under him, which is the Socialist laborers' dream, then away goes efficiency. If he is appointed by a board or a commission and he in turn appoints his staff, then away goes the popular ideal of democracy in industrial life.

Take another view: If the manager and his staff of assistants are to be elected by popular vote and subject to recall, there would be such a perpetual changing of officials as would make the efficient management of any industrial concern absolutely impossible.

It must not be forgotten that State management and control under a Socialistic form of Government would be a very different thing from state ownership and management under the present form. Under the present form of Government the State can employ the very ablest men available and pay them accordingly. This could not be done under a Socialist regime. Many people are led to believe that because railways are successfully run by the State now, that it could be done equally as well under Socialism. This is a fatal fallacy, as any one who will stop to think will easily see. Wage slavery, as Socialists term it, is to be done away with under Socialism, but wage slavery is as prominent on the State owned railway as on the capitalist railway at present.

For the sake of illustrating this point let us suppose that the Canadian Government had come to a decision to try the experiment of operating the I. C. R. under the latest and most advanced Socialist leadership—stipulating that only avowed or known Socialists could be employed in any capacity, and that for the purpose of giving the experiment a fair trial would hand the road, with all its equipment, over to Socialist leaders, the same as if an act of Parliament had been passed for the purpose, the old staff to be removed and an entirely new administration appointed.

The terms of the surrender to guarantee that the Socialist programme was to be adopted and carried out to the full extent—liberty, equality, abolition of wage slavery, referendum and recall, and all the rest of it, just as if they were a separate co-operative community for the operation of a valuable, going industrial concern with Capital abolished and free from debt.

Let them be given, say a month, to organize, or sufficient time to call their operating staff elect officials and arrange for a division of labor, etc.

Now, let us imagine what would most likely take place.

The Socialists in Canada would in all probability want the first say in affairs. There would have, necessarily, to be a provisional board of directors or comrades appointed to take the initiative.

The head of the propaganda in Canada would naturally be the man to call a meeting to appoint delegates, nominate men to the position of pro-

visional directors, etc. There would, no doubt, be plenty of aspirants for the office in the hope that it would lead to a permanent job. After these had selected a list of candidates there would have to be a referendum or election. Then the elected provisional board might proceed to organize. Let us hope that they would not quarrel over the choice of President and lose much valuable time. The next important duty would be to draw up a constitution and a code of rules and regulations for the government of the staff. The old capitalist rules, of course, would not answer where there was to be such a radical change. There would have to be new rules defining "who's who," and for voting into office the different grades of the managing officials. If all this was successfully disposed of, then would come the election for a permanent Board or a Commission and the executive officials and then would also begin the strife, for by this time there would inevitably have come into existence two or more parties, each trying to secure the lead. There would be splits over all sorts of questions, and above all, there would be the personal ambitions of those who considered that they had done good service in the cause and were therefore entitled to recognition before others whose claims would be merely the knowledge they had of railway operations. There would be, for instance, the Socialist head agitator from the G. T. R. audit office who would want the appointment of chief auditor. There would be the machinist from the big shops at Stratford who would want to be chief of motive power. There would be the conductor from the C. P. R. at Winnipeg who would claim the post of superintendent of the operating department, and so on through all the other branches.

There would be canvassing galore, bribery and intrigue, false friends and deceivers before the election and after the election there would be more discord and unrest than ever. But what would be more serious, there would be an utter lack of harmony and efficiency. The elected officials would be jealous and mistrustful of each other—the ordinary employe would be disloyal and rebellious towards the officials who would most likely be misfits. There would be charges and countercharges to be enquired into—there would be a lack of that discipline which is absolutely necessary, there would be a lack of motive, lack of interest, lack of ability; one department would be opposed to the methods of another and instead of working towards a common aim they would be pulling against each other. Favoritism would soon become rampant and the gratification of spite prominent—envy and hatred, speculation and dishonesty, recklessness and carelessness, waste and extravagance would follow close on the heels of a weak administration and the end would soon come in disaster.

This is no mere fancy picture, for it has been the experience of every attempt of Socialism at administration under their peculiar doctrines.

While I write these lines there comes to mind one attempt in particular where the conditions were to a great extent similar to those supposed in the case of the I. C. R. The history of the case to which I refer is little known in this country, although the leader of it was a Canadian born.



The story of the rise and fall of this Socialist attempt to carry out their ideal is fascinatingly told by Stewart Graham in a booklet published by H. E. Morgan of London E. C., under the title of "New Australia—Where Socialism Has Failed."

Any attempt to epitomize this history must necessarily have the effect of detracting from its merits and completeness, but I am tempted to do so very briefly in order to show the reader from an actual experience that what I have said is no idle imagining.

### "NEW AUSTRALIA—WHERE SOCIALISM HAS FAILED."

Born in Canada of English parents, William Lane, a journalist of brilliant powers and magnetic personality, migrated to Queensland, where he rapidly gained an extraordinary ascendancy over the minds of the intelligent artisans and mechanics of Brisbane, by means of distributing among them tracts and the fascinating fictions of Bellamy, and the blasphemous doctrines of Karl Marx and Belford Bax. He established free reading rooms and debating societies and a weekly paper, "The Boomerang," which met with instant success and served as a medium for reaching miners and shearers in the back blocks, who fell an easy prey to the spell of his glamorous phrases. He next attacked the leaders of the great Trade Unions and soon converted them to his theory that it would be possible, by concerted action, to overthrow capital, confiscate land and all means of production for the exclusive benefit of the manual workers. He next established a new journal called "The Worker," which had for its war cry, "Socialism in our Time." His gospel inspiration was from Blatchford's statement:

"Practical Socialism is so simple that a child may understand it—a national scheme of co-operation managed by the state, based on the demand, that the land and other instruments of production shall be the common property of the people, and shall be used and governed by the people for the people."

Lane used all the arguments that are so common to the Socialist organizer to support this doctrine.

In 1890 the shearers went out on strike; the next year the strike extended to all industries in Australia and New Zealand and widespread ruin followed.

Trade Unions lost nearly \$10,000,000 in wages and their funds were exhausted. The loss of trade was estimated at nearly \$20,000,000 and the financial upheaval of 1892-3 followed, when the banks suspended payment with liabilities of \$670,000,000.

After this disaster, Lane determined to follow the example of the Pilgrim Fathers and lead his down trodden followers to a "New Australia" across the sea where every worker should receive the full fruit of his labor. He sent out as prospectors Walker, Leck and Saunders, to Paraguay where they were received with open arms by the Foreign Minister and the President, Gen. Gonzalez, who made this proposition:

"We will grant you, absolutely free of charge, 100 leagues (450,000 acres) of magnificent agricultural and grazing land, allow you to im-

port what you please free of duty and relieve you of all taxation for a long period."

"We will grant you local autonomy with no responsibility to any one save the Central Government. The only condition we make is that you shall establish 800 families on the land within four years."

Note.—The Government spent \$450,000 in buying out squatters so that the newcomers might enjoy proprietorship over the whole estate.

When the prospectors returned to Australia they reported that it was "the best watered country they had ever seen—cleared land and timbered land—so fertile that it could be cropped during all seasons of the year.

"... We think that an acre cleared in Paraguay will produce as much as two in most other countries," and so on through a long catalogue of excellent qualities, and finally they say, "We feel confident that with enough capital to land, sufficient tools and food to keep us for say 18 months, it will be sheer laziness if we don't prosper, and starvation is impossible."

When this report was made known there were thousands, with clamorous eagerness, ready to follow Lane in the great exodus.

Lane then issued his prospectus, stating terms on which members would be accepted, called for \$50 cash down, non-returnable, from every male member, to be made up to three hundred dollars before sailing, this being the minimum. Any man wishing to join who had more than this was to put it all in the fund—Lane himself put in five thousand dollars, all he had; several others contributed as much as two thousand dollars. In a short time over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was paid in and ten times as much was proffered if the first movement proved a success.

The salient points in the scheme of Government were as follows:

(1) Ownership and conduct by the community of all land, tools, industries, production and exchange, and distribution. Saving by community of all capital needed by community, maintenance of children, protection, education and general well being of each individual guaranteed by community. After all this has been done the balance of the wealth co-operatively produced shall be divided equally between every adult member "without regard to sex, age, office or physical or mental capacity."

(2) Without prejudice to the liquor question members shall pledge themselves to teetotalism until the initial difficulties of settlement have passed and the constitution established.

(3) Female suffrage and equality of the sexes in all matters.

(4) Religion not to be officially recognized by the community.

Lane changed the name of his paper to that of "The New Australia Journal" and Mr. Graham quotes some of the arguments put forth through its columns in favor of the doctrines adopted by Socialists. These I will pass over, as they are mainly after the teachings of Belfort Bax, Robert Blachford and some other leading Socialist writers in England with which we are already more or less familiar. I will also pass over the minor events connected with Lane's preparations for his start with his followers for their new home.

In the month of July, 1893, they sailed in the "Royal Tar," a wooden

barque of 600 tons, which Lane had purchased for the purpose of conveying the first contingent to South America—full of faith, determined to vindicate their ideals and teach the world a lesson. On her first trip the *Royal Tar* carried 241 persons—men, women and children. All the crew were Socialists and members of the association. At first all vied with one another in their eagerness to be true communists. They had got rid of Social inequality now; one man was to be as good as another, Lane himself offering to take a hand with the others at peeling potatoes in the galley. But this feeling soon began to wear off, and it was found necessary for some to give and some to obey orders. For instance, they found the ship could not be successfully navigated by the vote of the majority. Here I will quote Mr. Graham's own record:

"Communism of children Lane had provided for, but he took care that the promiscuous fraternal bond between the sexes in his ideal state should go no further than platonic. The voyage had hardly commenced before he began to fear the same evil which broke up the Brook Farm and he made a law that no woman should be allowed on deck after dark, that there might be no unseemly galivanting on the '*Royal Tar*.'

"The order aroused the ladies to a display of enthusiasm worthy of suffragettes. Moved to indignation by his suspicions they broke out into active rebellion and stormed the hatchway, reminding their leader that they had an equal vote in the conduct of affairs, and were not to be batted down without their own consent."

It will be well to note that William Lane had, before leaving Australia, secured almost absolute power over these pioneers by getting the constitution suspended and himself appointed as provisional director for two years, with power to dictate internal arrangements. In theory it was possible to displace him by two-thirds majority vote, but, as he was provided with proxies from all those still remaining in Australia, he could always constitute a majority in his own person until the arrival of the second contingent, therefore, he was monarch of all he surveyed.

Skipping details of the voyage we will next take up the history at Monte Video where the party transhipped to a river steamer for a thousand mile trip up the river Asuncion, where they entrained for Cabeliro, from which point they were to cross the mountains in carts to their promised land, which they reached after many vicissitudes in their overland trip. The colonists' first work was to construct housing, which they did after the native method—building houses 144 feet by 20 feet, and dividing them into twelve compartments each to house one family.

A few days after the arrival of the communists the official Gazette in Asuncion published a notice constituting New Australia as a separate district, not subject to the control of the local magistrates at Ajos or San Jose. In order that they might have proper control over their land, the colonists were allowed to nominate three of their members to hold official positions. To the principal office of Administrator (Executive Officer), for enforcing law, registering births, deaths and marriages, etc., Lane himself was appointed.

Many of the communists had the strongest objection to three of their

number being elevated to positions of authority over the rest, but these were pacified by being told it was necessary to guard against outside interference.

On October 11th the ceremony of officially recognizing the colony by the Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs and other officials was performed, a proclamation was read and the flag of Paraguay hoisted, and cheered by the colonists as a guarantee of their emancipation.

Here I will again quote a paragraph in Mr. Graham's own words:

"Most Socialists agree with August Bebel in the ingenuous belief that Socialism would revolutionize not only material things, but human nature also. Bebel says: 'It is evident that labor thus organized on principles of perfect freedom and democratic equality, in which one represents all, and all one, must awake the highest sense of solidarity and a spirit of cheerful activity, and call forth a degree of emulation such as is nowhere to be found in the present industrial system.' It is upon such false premises as these that all Socialists build their fantastic hopes of universal bliss. The evidence of New Australia goes a long way towards establishing the exact converse of Bebel's proposition, for dissension, gloom and sloth were the order of the day."

In those early days the communists were confident and with some capital behind them they commenced at once on a scale they hoped to be able to continue. They started a brass band of thirty-six instruments at a cost of \$1,250. They worked but eight hours a day. Trouble began at once through the men working in the vegetable gardens envying the men who spent the day riding about the camp herding cattle, and the cowboy envied the schoolmaster whom he considered had a much easier job, and the schoolmaster envied the man who seemed to have nothing else to do but blow the dinner horn. Mr. Lane soon had charges of favoritism in plenty levelled at his own head and at the heads of foremen in charge of every industry. When he found that the colony was not going to be the "Paradise" expected and that envy, hatred and all uncharitableness was rampant, Lane decided on a policy of benevolent despotism. With a stern hand he put down revolt and punished those who disputed his decisions by setting them at the most distasteful tasks. One of these pioneers wrote:

"We have surrendered all our civil rights and become mere cogs in a wheel, no longer factors in the scheme of civilization, but blind followers of an intriguing charlatan—in fact, a man is practically a slave; Lane has proved himself most unbusinesslike and incompetent . . ."

"Scores of little children and women were exposed to drenching rain, while Lane and his wife spent the first two months in Asuncion . . ."

"Lane does the thinking and the colonists do the work. Result—barbarism."

Three men went to a neighboring village and got drunk. Lane, in the most arbitrary manner, decreed that they must be expelled from the community, against the pleadings of the majority for mercy. It was his own law and he determined to enforce it to the full extent. This act raised such a disturbance that Lane, as a Paraguayan magistrate, sent to the authorities for a posse of native soldiers.

With scarcely enough money to reach Asuncion and throw themselves upon the mercy of the British Consul, the three men were driven out at the point of the bayonet. Terror filled the hearts of those that remained. There was evidently no hope for those that opposed the "Dictator's" will. "Was it for this that they left Australia?"

Those who found themselves in any disagreement with their dictator realized that they were in danger of being expelled by twos and threes and they decided to take concerted action; how eagerly they turned now towards the British flag which they had repudiated a little earlier! An authentic history of what actually occurred can be found in the Foreign Office report, "Miscellaneous Series," No. 356 (1886) which reads as follows:

"Things went from bad to worse, disputes arose and became so bitter that two parties were formed, one of those who opposed the directions of the manager and the other one who followed them, and a new source of quarrel sprang up when it was discovered that the association was registered as a limited liability company, without the members ever having been consulted on the subject, and that the manager would be able to exercise almost absolute power; moreover, the use of the police force created great excitement and a general uproar until at length, finding it impossible to agree 85 members seceded in a body, preferring to abandon all their shares in the colony, and to receive a certain sum, the married about \$25 and the single \$15."

"In a letter which one of the seceders wrote to the British Consul at Monte Video, he stated that the manager had arrogated to himself absolute power, and was expelling those who dared to stand up for their rights by twos and threes."

"To prevent him from taking us thus we have decided to leave in the hope that something may be done for us in a body that would not be done for us individually."

"They went to Villa Rica, and there they had a long list of grievances to pour forth, and tales to tell how they had been expelled on trivial pretexts and others tyrannized. They said that no financial statement had ever appeared, when they asked for one they were terrorized."

"Life under such conditions was intolerable, and it was clear that what with the absence of liberty, the isolation of existence, the suspicion with which one party regarded the other, the mutual fear, the boycotting, the constant disputes and hundreds of little disagreeable events that went on the whole day long, whatever opinions they might hold on other subjects they were one and all disposed to agree that New Australia was anything but a working man's paradise."

Here Mr. Graham says that naturally the British Consul at Asuncion was at his wits' end to know what to do with this army of destitute fellow-countrymen and the Second Secretary of the Legation at Bueno Ayres was sent to try and patch up a truce. He wrote as follows:

"I had been instructed to visit the colony to inquire into the cause of the expulsion of these members and the succession of about one-third of the colony. They were given a few pounds apiece when they left, but when I saw them they were on the very verge of destitution. I found Mr.

Lane, the present chairman of the association, prepared to give me all the information I asked for, but to him the articles of the association and agreements signed are as the code of the Medes and Persians and any infringement thereof must be summarily dealt with. He does not admit such things as extenuating circumstances; justice to him means the law according to the letter; a man is either 'straight' or he is 'not straight,' and in the latter case he should go."

"The colonists had started with everything in their favor—free land, immunity from taxation, a good climate and a certain amount of capital. They are a fine class of men, and if they were less disposed to stand on the letter of their rights and took a more reasonable view of the failings of their fellows they would be sure to succeed. As it is, they came to found Utopia, and before I visited the colony had succeeded in creating (as they said), a hell upon earth. I feel morally certain that if the colony had been started on an individualistic basis (each colonist, receiving an allotment) and with no complicated regulations to fight over, not a man would have left the settlement."

With praiseworthy generosity the Government put a fresh slice of land at the disposal of the seceders close to a settlement of Poles, Germans and Italians, but it was heartbreaking to commence anew without the commonest necessities of life or the requisite money to buy implements. With grim determination they set to work, however, till enough money was earned to pay the passage of 26 persons down river to Buenos Ayres, where they were befriended by the Benevolent Society, who made an appeal to the British Charities to aid in returning them to Australia. At this point in the history Mr. Graham adds that "it will be safe to prophecy that they will remain individualists to the end of their days."

Meantime, the Royal Tar had returned to Australia for the second contingent. I will pass over the account of how things were represented as favorable at the new colony and how the second contingent, having faith in Lane, disregarded all adverse reports and sailed from Adelaide December 31st, and take up the story again on their arrival at Monte Video. Here the second contingent first learned what had taken place and three or four families resolved to return, but the rest continued the journey, reaching Asuncion March 7th. One of them had no sooner landed than he went to the Consul and claimed the protection of the British flag.

He said that the manager had met them and at a meeting held on board the steamer had said that he would stigmatize as a blackleg anyone who should discuss matters connected with the association. The remainder, about 190, went on to New Australia and were located about 10 miles from the first settlement. "This deliberate isolation was a part of Lane's settled policy of keeping his followers ignorant of their position financially and otherwise." (This is in the evidence of Alfred Rogers to the British Board). Another member said of him, "Lane as a high-souled enthusiast in the cause of labor and Lane as a despot, crafty, mendacious, almost afraid to meet men face to face, were two different men. As the first he aroused the enthusiasm of thousands, as the second he was

able to draw out all the worst passions and the most evil thoughts of those whom he had so far led. Hence the first split."

Soon after the arrival of the second batch there came a crisis. Headed by Gilbert Casey the newcomers insisted on a plain statement, and found that the affairs of the settlement had been so woefully mismanaged that a change of officials was urgently needed. Then it was Lane's turn to secede. The constitution was put in force and Lane resigned, Frederick Kidd being elected to the chief executive office. Lane applied for permission to settle on the coveted Codan land with his immediate adherents, but this was refused and he was told that he must bear his share in the common toil. This was too much; he seceded, taking with him forty-five sympathizers and a fair proportion of the common stock and implements and cattle and shaking the dust of New Australia off his feet. He proceeded to found a New Paradise at Caazapa, which he christened the "Cosme Colony." Here we will say good-bye to Mr. Lane.

To guard against the possibility of any autocratic misgovernment in future general meetings now became frequent. The new Administrator could hardly sign his name without some one insisting upon a vote as to whether it was proper for him to do so. In place of despotism the Colonists now suffered under the infliction of inconstant public opinion, which displaced officials or made new regulations one day only to reverse its decisions the next. No subordinate foreman was intrusted with the smallest discretionary power. In discussions over petty details, the more important matters were hopelessly neglected. No more money was forthcoming from friends in Australia.

Under the new management one blunder followed another in productive schemes. They imagined that they could forever live on capital and sent Gilbert Casey back to Australia to try and revive that source of supply, but to put it briefly the attempt was a failure—the hundreds of dupes there who had paid in all they possessed to the Association and were left stranded at Sydney, had nothing more to give and were obliged to accept charity from the much-abused capitalists, and to curse the day they had ever heard of Socialism.

I will pass over several pages of the history which follows, showing in detail how the efforts of the Colonists at production turned out great failures and a series of blunders, wastefulness and destruction, as a sample for instance, the wholesale loss or appropriation of tools was carried to such an extreme that when harvest-time came there was nothing to reap with.

A Colonist wrote in the "Pall Mall Gazette": "There is absolutely no regard for common property. Tools and implements are lost, mislaid or destroyed in the most disgraceful manner. Last year the mellow-beds were trampled on by adults and children. Thousands were broken down and not one allowed to come to maturity."

Let anyone in this county imagine a wheat crop being taken in by men and boys snipping off the heads with table knives into a bag, in a field averaging a bushel to an acre, and they will have an idea how farming operations were managed by the communists. They had an abundant

crop of maize, but it was allowed to spoil because the strict Trade Unionist rules would not allow the men of other branches to assist the agricultural section and the eight-hour a day rule curtailed their possibilities so the maize was allowed to rot on the ground. None of them had any individual interest in saving it. This is how the favorite doctrine of "All for one and one for all" worked when put to a practical test, thus proving the truth of the contention that "Individual interest is the indispensable incentive to labor and economy."

When their capital was exhausted and they were put on short rations, the leaders decided that something must be done, either in the way of productive of labor by lumbering—(they had plenty of valuable timber) or by disposing of some of their live stock—at one time they owned 2,500 head of cattle. The latter alternative was adopted, and "a sale of one thousand head was rushed through at less than three dollars and a half with calves up to two years old thrown in," Rogers says in his report:

"It became known after the sale that twice the amount might have been realized if they had been sold in small lots. The privilege to outsiders to cut timber on the land was let at an equal sacrifice, but to 'raise money at any cost,' was the motto of the leaders."

It may be argued that all this had nothing to do with the nature of Socialism, but was simply due to the stupidity of the board of management. This argument is replied to by the fact that the teaching of Socialists produces only this type of manager—it is the inevitable result of their doctrines.

General Rossel, the commander of the French Socialist army during the communist rising in 1871, said: "They study with good faith the works of those philosophical day-dreamers who promise them a paradise on earth; they are desirous of suddenly transforming the organization of labor . . . and three-fourths of their time they are the dupes of their elevating experiments. Incapable of managing their own affairs, they are still more incapable of managing public affairs."

After this sacrifice of cattle and timber limits, distrust became more rampant than ever, and one party openly proposed to wind up the Association. They said:

"What's the use of pretending to be communists any longer. . . . Let us divide everything up while there is anything left to divide and turn individualists, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

Brotherly love was now a byword. Envy, hatred and malice had taken its place and the noble resolve to bear one another's burdens had given place to a policy of grab.

Later on the situation was thus described by Mr. Gilmore in the "Sydney Daily Telegraph":

"In the stores, supplies ran down day by day until women washed without soap, cooked without fat, and patched the outer garments with the inner. Flour was almost non-existent. Every article of value that



any one possessed sooner or later found its way to Asuncion to be sold and the proceeds spent in buying kerosene, beans, salt or maize.

"When things got very bad a tarpaulin muster brought in even wedding rings. Maize at last practically gave out. Light was only available in case of night nursing and in a day or two there was no salt . . . For two weeks the Colony fed wholly on unsalted beans. . . Then the maize came in with sweet potatoes and beans . . . A housewife thought herself lucky if she had a teaspoonful of fat in a month merely to grease the pan. Any man who got his food cooked with the taste of fat declared he felt stronger all day for it."

As the time had now come when it was realized by even the drones that there was no longer any hope for communism or to be gained by its continuance all were willing that it should be abolished, and by a vote the constitution was changed and henceforth every man would be entitled to dispose as he pleased of the fruit of his own labor and a new incentive was given to industry. This was the dawn of a brighter day for the Colony.

For the purpose of the present work it is not necessary to follow the fortunes of the Colonists after this change, but the late report by Mr. Graham shows that New Australia is neither a Utopian Eden nor a "hell on earth." It is an average community of sane, sober, hardworking, self-respecting farmers living at peace one with another and united in condemnation of the common enemy—Socialism—in all its guises, whether it calls itself "Christian Socialism," "Atheistic Socialism" or merely "Co-operative Communism." For the miseries they suffered, and some of them are still suffering, they have to thank, not Wm. Lane alone, but the whole host of writers and speakers who, by their fallacious doctrines, induced them, and would fain induce the nation to wreck their lives on the Socialistic quicksands.

Mismanagement, extravagance, favoritism, indolence, discontent, heathenism, these are the necessary accompaniments of Socialism; while industry, economy, thrift, independence, self-respect and satisfaction are the sterling qualities called forth by the legitimate pride and individual ownership. Of this truism the plain story of New Australia serves as an excellent illustration. It is not necessary to point the moral further. Wm. Lane set out to teach the world a lesson—and he has done so.

The fate that followed Mr. Lane's attempt, which began under such favorable conditions as far as opportunities were concerned, was simply that which followed all previous tests of the kind, on anything like a large scale. But there has been a still later test of the working of the Socialist ideal—also under favorable conditions, and also a still later failure. I refer to the coal miners in France. Here, again, internal dissensions, incompetency and bad management brought about the utter collapse of a going concern with large capital, in less than two years. I will not go into any details, as the history of its rise and fall has so recently been given through the daily press. The failure of this latest trial in France puts an end to any possible claim that can be made for the further use of the term "Scientific Socialism," a title that Socialists have been very fond of applying to their fantastic schemes. To be scientific it must be capable of practicable

demonstration, but as all attempts to do this have proved utter failures there can no longer be any just ground for their pretense. Unscientific would be a far more fitting prefix.

### PRESS SELECTIONS AND COMMENTS.

From a mass of newspaper clippings recently collected, referring to Socialism and Trade and Labor Unions, I propose to reproduce here a few articles which I hope may prove interesting to readers.

In his annual address at the convention held at St. Louis in November, 1910, Mr. Gompers, president of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, had a good deal to say about Canada as will be seen from the press report quoted below.

When a man holding the position that he does, publishes to the world, as a fact, that "the last session of the Dominion Parliament was a labor session," the rest of his remarks about Canada ought to be interesting to Canadians.

That Mr. Gompers should make such a remark is not surprising, when the fact is considered that it is the aim and object of the Federation to dominate and control the actions of Parliaments as well as almost all the minor functions of government, local and general.

It must certainly be somewhat unpleasant reading for the more conscientious and conservative portion of the people of this community to be told that "Mr. Belcourt was obliged to ask permission to withdraw his proposed bill"—not on account of any opposition on the part of other members, but on account of the "strenuous opposition offered by the labor congress in its legislative capacity."

"St. Louis, Nov. 14.—President Gompers had something to say of Canada in his annual report to the American Federation of Labor, which began here today."

"Affiliated with the federation are 120 international unions, 39 state federations, 632 city central bodies, 431 local trades unions, 216 federal labor unions—a total of 1,436."

"The international unions have approximately 28,000 local unions under their jurisdiction, and these during the past year have issued charters to 2,167 local unions. The increase in membership was 218,299."

"The movement in Canada has shown greater progress during the past year than in any previous year in its history. Numerically, representation in the congress has increased by 40 per cent. over the year 1909, while the balance in the treasury of the congress over that reported for 1909 was almost 50 per cent. The congress in its legislative capacity has also exceeded anything done in former years. It secured the appointment of a commission on technical education, with its vice-president as a member of it; amendments to the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act that further protected the interests of those affected by the act; and the exemption of trade unions from the Combines Investigation Act. It offered such strenuous opposition to the Belcourt Bill, which was designed to keep international officers out of Canada, that its promoter asked permission to withdraw it, which was permitted, although the Senate threatened to throw it out bodily.

### A LABOR SESSION.

"In fact," says Secretary Draper of the Trades and Labor Congress, "The last session of the Dominion Parliament may be said to have been a labor session, in as much as besides dealing with the above matters there were before it for consideration bills dealing with the following matters:

"Proportional representation; load line and wireless telegraphy on ships for the protection of sailors; to make election day a public holiday, and to do away with the election deposit; to provide for the fortnightly payment of wages on railways instead of monthly as at present; to abolish the Senate; bringing cable companies under the jurisdiction of the railway commission, the railway companies, express, telegraph and telephone companies being already subject to the commission; bill for the legalizing of co-operative societies, and other proposed legislation."

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"Apart from legislation, it is a pleasure to report that the sentiment in favor of international trade unionism is stronger than ever in Canada. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, wage-earners realize their safety lies in the international bond, and despite the efforts of the employing interests to build up a so-called "national" movement, the trades unionists of Canada will continue to give their allegiance to their various international bodies."

It is generally known that President Gompers is now and always has been strongly opposed to any fusion of interests of the Socialists and Trades and Labor Unions in America. There has been and still is a strong effort being made on the part of the Socialists, with Eugene V. Debs as their head, to oust Mr. Gompers from his position, but his long and faithful service in the cause of Unionism and a strong personal following has enabled him to successfully resist all such efforts so far, but should he pass, or fail to get re-elected, Debism, which means Socialism, would be almost sure to get their innings in the United States and consequently in Canada, so far as international unions are concerned.

The policy of the Socialist leaders in America is the same that is adopted in Great Britain, France and Germany and that is to get control of and dominate the laboring classes through their unions.

The institution of Trades and Labor Unions is now a permanent one in all countries—it has come to stay. Whether its birth was legitimate or otherwise is a question that need not now be raised. Whether its influence on the world's social, political, industrial and economical conditions has been good or bad may also be left out of the discussion, and we may well leave the past, in this respect, to bury its own dead, in view of the portentous present and near future that lies directly in our front, where hostile forces are gathering, the enormous proportions of which we can but dimly perceive and the purposes of which we can but partially understand.

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As I have referred very briefly, under a previous heading, to a strike of Government employes in France, I here quote a news item that will give further information. It needs no comment:

Paris, Oct 25.—Scarcely had the Chamber of Deputies opened this af-

ternoon, with M. Brisson presiding, when the Unified Socialists, as the opening decree was being read, discovered Prefect of Police Lepine in the corridor nearest their seats. Immediately a storm burst. Desk lids were slammed and the members of the party shouted in unison: "Out with the police spy." The uproar was kept up until President Brisson adjourned the sitting.

When the chamber reassembled fifteen minutes later M. Lepine was no longer visible, and interpellations regarding the railway strike began. M. Colly, a Socialist, quoted from a ten-year-old speech of the present premier, M. Briand, advocating a general strike.

M. Briand, in reply, said that the Government had found itself facing not a professional strike, but an anarchical movement, the object of which was civil war. The Government possessed written proofs of this, which, however, it was unable to produce at present, as they were in the hands of the judicial authorities.

Facing the clamorous Unified Socialists, he asked them where was liberty, was it with the members of the syndicate who refused men the freedom to work, and who hunted down and ill-treated men anxious to earn a living? "That," he declared, "is tyranny. It's supporters are liberty's greatest enemies. Nor can I recognize any political liberty in the spectacle you are presenting."

President Fallieres and the members of the Cabinet are being guarded constantly as the result of the appearance of an anarchistic circular condemning the ministers to death because of the conviction in the courts of militant members among the railway strikers.

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In the next item which follows we have the latest attitude of Keir Hardie, M. P., faintly illuminated. He has appeared in so many fantastic garbs that it is difficult to say at any particular time what are the leading features of the role he is playing or the final end he is aiming at. From his efforts at stirring up a war strife in Egypt and India, he now faces about and dons the garb of a world's great and only peacemaker. The glaring inconsistencies of this leader must inevitably end in his desertion by his hitherto admirers.

If there is any large class of men so lacking in common sense as to take seriously this last manifestation and to acknowledge such a man as a leader, then, as previously remarked, we need not wonder at the present state of affairs in Great Britain, or at anything that may occur in future. If Socialist adherents can be persuaded to swallow such fallacies their condition must be a critical one indeed.

(Special Despatch.)

"Mr. Keir Hardie, the well-known labor leader who is a determined enemy of war, thinks he has now found a sure means to make war between nations impossible.

"His plan, which he says has met the cordial approval of labor leaders in Germany and France, is to call a general strike in the two countries, whose governments decide to begin actual hostilities, on the very day war is declared."

"The recent attempt to declare a general strike in France failed," he said, "first, because it was poorly organized, but principally, because the strikers did not have the sympathy of the people. It showed, however, that organized labor is able to paralyze the means of communication, and

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if a general strike was declared simultaneously with a declaration of war, it would have the sympathy of the public, because the majority of any nation is opposed to war, and when the government found themselves unable to transport troops and send telegrams, their bloodthirsty desires would rapidly vanish."

"In Germany, France and England in a very near future, a desperate effort is to be made by lovers of peace to down the war party, and a conference of labor representatives will be called to meet, probably in London, with a view to coming to an agreement to strike on the day war is declared. It is a drastic remedy, I know, and we are prepared to be accused of lack of patriotism and even of being traitors, but we must make up our minds to be masters or allow ourselves to be driven into war like cattle into the shambles."

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The article below appeared in the Toronto Globe of September 21st last:

### CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.

"To the Editor of The Globe: Would you permit me as the accredited organizer for the Socialist party of Canada for the Province of Ontario to give a repudiation to the statements of Rev. Dr. Chown that "Socialism is founded upon the teachings of Jesus." The Socialist position is founded upon science, both sociological and economic. As such, it is opposed to all religions, which we maintain were products of given social conditions. With the establishment of a Socialist regime, Christianity, Judaism and all supernatural ideas clinging to mankind will be abolished. The Socialist party of Canada is opposed to the unscientific worship of Christ, Buddha or Mahomet. We do not believe in the salvation of the Church. We oppose that idea. It is far better to have the people to understand this now than let the confusion exist or let it be disseminated in the pulpit. Socialists cannot believe in any supernatural God. If they do they are not Socialists. The pamphlet issued by the Socialist party of Great Britain on "Socialism and Religion" is the only attitude we can take up. The Church will find in us their unrelenting foes. Christianity, with its superstitions, must be submerged before the workers obtain their complete emancipation. That is our slogan. That is our challenge. Far better let it be known now and so avoid misconception in the future. Finally, a Christian cannot be a Socialist, and a Socialist cannot be a believer in Christ or God.

Moses Baritz."

A somewhat lengthy discussion by correspondents followed the appearance of this decisive statement. Most of these correspondents claimed that "Moses" was not a competent authority and that Christian Socialism stood at the head of all other forms or types and was destined to convert and redeem the more extreme and revolutionary brands.

Taken in connection with the evidence that has been given in these pages, Mr. Baritz's letter should be conclusive and convincing. Just why a man, under the simple name of Christian, cannot be a true man and a brother and do his full duty as such without having the additional name of "Socialism" tacked on, was not made clear in this discussion or any other that has yet come under my notice, although I took part in a lengthy controversy on this very point through the columns of the Montreal Witness.

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In referring to a leading article that appeared in "The Christian Socialist" (an American journal devoted to Christian Socialism), Mr. W. H.

Mallock in his very able work entitled "Critical Examination of Socialism" devotes a whole chapter to the discussion of the article, in opening which he says:

"The author was a clergyman, and the article was entitled 'The Gospel for Today.' It was what I expected it would be. It reproduced in almost every particular the thoughts and moods distinctive of Christian Socialists in England and this article I will here take as a text."

Mr. Mallock's remarks are too lengthy to be quoted here in full, but I will make such extracts as will enable the reader to form a pretty clear idea of the whole. I will first give an extract from the "Christian Socialist" article:

"Christian Socialism does not aim at making men equal in respect of their ability, for to do so would be impossible; but it aims at producing an equality of a practicable kind, by inducing the men, whose ability is most efficient, to forego all personal claims which are founded on their own exceptional powers, so that the wealth which is at present secured by these powers for themselves may in future be divided among the mass of their less able brethren."

In reply to this portion of the Christian Socialist's doctrine, Mr. Mallock says:

"Thus the crucial change which the Christian Socialists would accomplish is identical with that contemplated by their secular allies and rivals. But the more completely it is invested with a definitely religious quality the more lopsided, unstable and self-stultifying is this change seen to be; the more obvious becomes the absurdity of proposing to reorganize the entire business of the world on the basis of a conversion *de luxe* which is to be the privilege of the few only, while the many are not only debarred from the very nature of the case, from practicing the renunciation in which the few are to find eternal life . . . The competent, to whose energies the riches of the world are due, are to put these riches away from them as though they were food offered by the devil. The incompetent, with thankless but ever open mouths, are to swallow the same food as though it were bread from heaven." . . . "Now, apart from the fact that this gospel does resemble the Christian in declaring that while salvation can be achieved only by sacrifice, and that so far as the majority are concerned their sacrifice might be strictly vicarious, we might well pause to enquire how either of these two messages—that of economic asceticism for the few, and of economic concupiscence for the many—has any relation to the gospel of Christ at all. According to any reasonable interpretation of the words and spirit of Christ, a laborer's desire to enjoy the utmost that he himself produces is no less legitimate than natural; but it hardly ranks as one of the highest Christian virtues." . . . "but let us content our selves with considering the matter under its purely practical aspect and ask how any Christian clergymen—men presumably sane and educated—can propose, whether their programme be really Christian or no, to reorganize society on the basis of a moral conversion which is confined to the few only—which would exact from the able minority the maximum

of effort and mortification, and secure the maximum of idleness and self-indulgence for the rest of the human race?"

"To this question it may be said that there are two answers. Admirable in character as are multitudes of Christian clergy, nobody will contend that all of them are beyond reproach; nor will any such claim be made for all those of them who profess Socialism. And for some of this body it is hardly open to doubt that the preaching of Socialism is nothing better than a species of ecclesiastical electioneering. In the language of the political wire-puller, it affords a good "cry" with which to go to the people. "Why," they say in effect, "should you listen to the agitator in the street, when we can give you something just as good from the pulpit?" What the message really means which they thus undertake to deliver, they make no effort to understand. It will attract, or at least they think so, and for the moment that is enough for them. Having probably emptied their churches by talking traditional nonsense, they are willing to fill them by talking nonsense that has not even the merit of being traditional. We will not linger, however, over the case of men like these."

Further on in the chapter Mr. Mallock quotes an argument wherein the clergyman says: "The steel kings did not invent steel. The oil kings did not invent oil. These are the gifts of nature, which nature offers to all; but the strong men abuse their strength by pushing forward and seizing them, compelling their weaker brethren to pay them a tribute for their use," and so on.

To this Mr. Mallock says: "Steel and refined oil he evidently looks upon as two natural products. He has no suspicion that, as any school-boy could have told him, steel is an artificial metal which as manufactured today, is one of the most elaborate triumphs of modern industrial genius. As to the oil, by the light of which he doubtless writes his sermons, he apparently thinks of it as existing fit for use in a lake, and ready to be dipped up by everybody in nice little tin cans, if only the oil kings, having got to the lake first, did not by their superior strength frighten other people away. Of the actual history of the production of usable oil, of the vast and marvellous system by which it is brought within reach of the consumer, of the by products which reduce its price—all of them the results of concentrated economic ability, and requiring from week to week its constant and renewed application—the author of the 'Gospel for Today' apparently knows nothing."

After dealing further with the fallacies he found in "The Gospel for Today" Mr. Mallock says:

"Here indeed we have a conception, or rather a vague picture of the facts of modern industry, and human nature as connected with it, which is worthy of a man from dreamland. Every detail mentioned is false. Every essential detail is omitted." . . . "He knows so little of the commonest facts of history that he looks upon steel as a ready-made product of nature, and all the mills of the steel trust as merely a means of monopolizing knives, bridges, rails, and locomotive engines, which the citizens of America would otherwise be able to take at will, like a bevy of school children helping themselves from a heap of apples." . . .

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"Such are the wild, childish, and disconnected ideas entertained by our clerical author of the world which he proposes to reform; and he is in this respect not peculiar. On the contrary, he is a most favorable type of Christian Socialist generally; and Christian Socialists, in respect of their mental and moral equipment, are simply secular Socialists of the more modern and educated type, with their ignorances and credulities accentuated, but not otherwise altered, by the solemnities of religious language, and a vague religious sentiment which achieves a facile intensity because it is never restrained by fact." . . . "The question, however, still remains to be answered of why a body of men, like the apostles of Socialism, who exhibit as a class no typical inferiority of intellect, unite in accepting, as though drawn by some chemical affinity, one particular error which dispassionate common sense diadains, and which the actual history of the whole human race refutes? In the case of some preachers of Socialism the answer lies on the surface. Socialism is of all creeds that which is easiest to present to the ignorant; like 'patriotism' in the days of Dr. Johnson, it is often 'the last refuge of a scoundrel,' or 'of a desperate and ambitious fool.' . . . To ascertain how the Socialistic temperament thus debilitates the faculties, it will be enough to note certain characteristics distinctive of those possessing it. Such persons are all distinguished, though naturally in various degrees, by an undue preponderance of the emotional over the critical faculties, whence there arises in them what, to borrow a phrase of President Roosevelt's, we may aptly call an inflammation of the social sympathies. This makes such persons magnify into intolerable wrongs all sorts of pains and inconveniences which most men accept as part of the "rough and tumble" of life; and it thus renders them abnormally impatient of the actual and abnormally preoccupied with the ideal."

Some kind of apology is due to the reader for devoting so much space to quoting Mr. Mallock, but having obtained copies of the journal "Christian Socialist," and carefully read them, I fully realize how important this branch of the discussion has become.

There can no longer be any doubt regarding the end aimed at. The whole tenor of the teaching and preaching of the clergy who connect themselves with this movement, points to the introduction of a universal schism into the Christian church. The journal referred to has an immense circulation in both America and Europe, and the prominence given to its teachings is an indication of the influence it is wielding in the Socialist interest. It would seem that the more unreasoning and illogical the proposition is, the more fallacious the arguments that are used in its support the more eagerly it is accepted and adopted by certain portions of the community. It would also seem that those who become converts to the Socialistic ideas belong to a class who allow their imagination to control their intellect. Imagination uncontrolled by cultivated intellect is responsible for much of the unrest, discontent and discord which exist in the social world. The tendency at the present time seems to be more and more towards the development of the imaginative faculty rather than the cultivation of a controlling and



intellectual one; hence the ready acceptance with which the wildest and most impossible schemes for sweeping and radical changes are met; and to hasten their advent some enthusiasts are ready to go to any extreme under the delusion that the end justifies any means used in that direction. It is here that the demagogue finds his opportunity and his material to work upon, and perhaps for a time becomes a hero—or a martyr.

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Reference has been made to a discussion carried on recently through the columns of the Stratford Herald and the Montreal Witness with regard to Socialism, more particularly so-called Christian Socialism. I will venture here to reproduce one of my own letters written in reply to three different opponents, which, I hope, will give a fair idea of the trend of the whole discussion without troubling the reader with the text of the rest of the long letters that appeared. I also reproduce one each of the editorial comments from the two papers named, as further indication of the tenor and scope of the discussion:

(To the Editor of The Witness.)

Sir,—My last letter in the "Witness" (January 7th) having been honored by no less than three lengthy criticisms or complaints, I feel sure you will kindly allow me to make a brief reply to some of their charges.

First in order is the letter signed "Humanitas" ("Witness" of January 25th.) (I am sorry he had not the courage to sign his proper name.) I would remind my critic that because I do not view Christian Socialism from his standpoint, it does not necessarily follow, as he charges, that I am entirely lacking in knowledge of the "fundamental and altruistic principles of Christian Socialism," or that I "irreverently attacked the Sermon on the Mount." I am sure the Sermon on the Mount was not mentioned at all in any of my letters. Further on he says I show a lack of discrimination between the "merely nominal Christian and the Christian Socialist," and so on. Well, I will frankly confess to being a little hazy about just what is the difference between a "merely nominal Christian, and a Christian Socialist," unless it is that the latter is considered by its professors to be of a higher order of Christianity than that professed by simple Christians.

Again he finds fault with my citing Lord Rosebery as an authority, and claims that he is not competent to give an opinion on Socialism.

"I don't know who "Humanitas" is, but will submit it to the readers of the "Witness" to decide which of the two they consider as most competent and worthy to be cited as an authority on such a subject. Again, he charges that I quote W. H. Mallock, "whose criticism of Christian Socialist clergy is untrue," when, as a matter of fact, there is no man in England or America today more widely or favorably known as a fair and able critic of the doctrines, creeds, theories, claims and dreams of Socialism, and for "Humanitas" to charge such a man, in the blunt manner in which he does, with untruth and narrow mindedness, is simply to show that he is not capable of confining himself within the bounds of common civility or decent discussion.

My critic refers to the Pan-Anglican Conference in London in 1908, and takes the occasion to say that "here again he (Mr. Larmour) displays his lack of knowledge concerning the clergy of England." Now, as a mat-

ter of fact, I had before me not only the full report of that conference, but also that of the far more important conference held at Swansea, in October, 1900, to which I have referred already in a previous letter. Further, he undertakes to dictate what I should study and so on, leaving no other course open to me but to class him with those persons whose overweening conceit unfits them for the most ordinary work of a critic.

I have always understood that when a writer does not sign his communications, he is expected to avoid personalities when dealing with one who does. I would mention one other part of his letter where he refers to the "universal Brotherhood of Doukhobors who have learned from Tolstoy. . . who have made a moral record higher than that of any other Christian community." Now, I happened to be in the good city of Fort William a little over two years ago, when a band of Doukhobors invaded that city while on a pilgrimage to the east. The experience gained by me on that occasion warrants me in expressing the opinion that any man who can seriously say that these fanatics had made a higher moral record than any other Christian community—is—well—hardly safe to be allowed to run at large. I am sure the good people of Fort William will bear me out in this opinion.

Next in order comes Mr. C. Culliford's second letter ("Witness," February 1st). He again reverts to the tactics referred to by me, that is, he indulges in general denials—says the leading exponents of Socialism in Britain, France and Germany whom I quoted, express merely private opinion and are no good as authorities, and sets up his own idea of Carl Marx as the only proper guide; also, that I failed to prove anything, and so on. Now I submit to the unprejudiced readers of the letters that I did prove—not by one authority, but by a dozen—that the marriage ceremony, as we understand it, is to be abolished, and that the family as we know it, is to be abolished also under the Socialistic regime. I am not disposed to allow Mr. Culliford to get away from this fact, no matter how disagreeable it may be, by trailing the argument away to the white slave traffic in America or other side issues. He may have his own ideas about Socialism, what it ought to be—what it might be or what he would like it to be, but I am dealing with the militant, Socialistic propaganda as it is, and as it is expressed and expounded by its acknowledged teachers and leaders, and not by private or individual opinion. Had my critic read as much of the current Socialist literature as I have—not Carl Marx manifestoes only, but the later productions of Socialist authoritative announcements, he would not be so rash in risking his reputation among his comrades by such reckless denials of statements which they, who are better informed, know to be true.

It has been truly said that Socialism is all things to all men and a different thing to every man. I have also seen it stated that the word Socialism is commonly used so vaguely that any one can understand by it pretty much what he pleases—that it is the chameleon of "isms." This property is a great source of strength because it enables the creature to hide from its enemies or delight its friends by assuming whatever color suits the circumstances.

Mr. Culliford asks: "Who is Mr. Quelch, or what has he done that his sayings should be quoted?" I will tell him. Mr. H. Quelch is one of the three leading writers and exponents of the Social democratic party—one of the strongest revolutionary socialist organizations in Great Britain. His co-workers are Belfort Bax and Mr. Hyndman. They edit and publish a weekly journal called "Justice," also a monthly magazine, "The Social Democrat," along with numerous books, pamphlets, booklets and leaflets with which the country is flooded. "Cotton's Weekly" in Canada is trying in a small way to imitate this propagandaist method of spreading the new gospel, but I presume it is not your wish to give his cheap wares a free advertisement.

Just a few words more in regard to your correspondent's further reference to Christian Socialism. After having read the full text of the well discussed and carefully composed addresses delivered at the Sawney Church Congress in October last on the subject of socialism by such eminent men as the Bishop of Truro, Dr. Shadwell, the Rev. John Wakeford, of Liverpool, the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, the Bishop of London and Bishop Weldon of Manchester, all of whom failed to reach a definite conclusion—it is, to say the least, very refreshing to have the whole momentous question thus summarily disposed of—to his own satisfaction at least, by Mr. Culliford, of Beachville. In his concluding remarks, he says: "The more you tread it (socialism) the more you spread it." My aim has been and still will be to expose rather than oppose Socialism. Instead of attempting to "tread on it," I would raise it to a pinnacle where it could be seen as it is, not as its friends would have it appear to the uninitiated.

It is a far cry from Beachville to Alberta, that "far distant west" of Hiawatha, from whence comes the third and last letter. There is no land in the wide world today where there is less reason for unrest and discontent, yet your correspondent forces this incongruity into notice in the very first sentence of his letter by uttering the old familiar croak about unrest and discontent. It would seem that the land where we imagined all was peace, prosperity and content—where the people were glad and optimistic—must also be subject to the dismal sound of this imported machinery, which turns out "unrest" ready-made to order. The organizer who gets four dollars a day and expenses could not afford to overlook this fair and happy land, this opportunity to dispose of his wares to the innocent and unsuspecting. The whole trend of the letter shows but too plainly the trade mark of the manufactory from whence its inspiration came. Unrest in Alberta is not native born—it has no legitimate home there—it is a slander on the people. To drag socialism by the heels, as it were, into such an environment, is little less than criminal, it matters little whether it is called Christian Socialism, Evolutionary or Revolutionary Socialism, it comes from the same factory and is being exploited for the same ends, that is, to forward the aims of a party of political demagogues. It is but a short time ago that Socialism declared it had nothing to do with politics—now it is all for politics—the philosophy of Karl Marx is pushed out of sight except where it is used to confuse and confound the less well instructed.

The thing to be wondered at is that people claiming to be educated and practical Christians can be found to support this thinly veiled charlatany. They are making for themselves strange bedfellows who can hail as comrades men who boast that the Doukhobors are on a higher moral plane of Christian morality than any other Christian community, or that the teaching of Karl Marx is on a par with the teaching of Christ as one of your correspondents does, when he tells about reconciling the doctrines of Socialism with the doctrines of Jesus. To succeed in doing this he will require the gift of tongues that one rev. pastor has been dispensing in our neighboring city of London recently.

If Christian Socialists wish to deal with the propaganda in a practical and intelligent way, they must come down from the clouds and meet it in the streets where its home now is.

If they would not leave themselves open to the charge of talking nonsense (minus the merit of tradition) about Socialism let them study it from the lower as well as the higher levels. Let them understand that there is a fanatical phase that would look upon their methods as neither fish, flesh nor fowl nor even good red herring (to use a common expression), that there is a state of frenzy in which demagogue leaders delight, where talk of conciliation would be met by the cry of "down with every-

thing," a state where no other argument but the one used by General Miles would be of any avail.

It is to this phase of Socialism that I would direct attention rather than discuss prospective changes in the marriage ceremony.

It is to the class war that is being fomented and urged forward with all the diplomatic cunning of which crafty leaders are capable, that I would point, rather than waste time and space discussing religious technicalities; but I am charged with attacking the Christian religion. If to say that revolutionary Socialism, as we have it today, is in conflict with true Christianity is attacking religion, then I will admit the charge by repeating that the doctrines of the Socialist propaganda and the doctrines of Christianity are incompatible, for to my mind it would be just as rational to use the term Christian anarchism, because Socialism and anarchism are now synonymous.

The term Socialism had its origin in that fanatical school known as St. Simonism—an aftermath of the revolution—and long before Karl Marx's time. It made its first appearance in England in an illegal publication, printed to support the workingmen's National Union in 1833. The word "Socialism" is therefore in no way dependent on Christianity nor Christianity on socialism, and why their names should be linked together is matter well worthy of discussion.

Stratford, Feb. 8, 1910

ROBERT LARMOUR.

#### Stratford Herald Comment.

"We have again two contributions in the controversy as to Socialism, one on each side. The reader can hardly peruse both without perceiving the danger of the Socialist innovation, that is, as proposed by the radical Socialist element. As has been said, Socialism is "all things to all men," so variable and wide apart are the platforms advanced by its advocates. But with regard to nearly all of them, it has to be said that they are impracticable of satisfactory operation except in an ideal community, brought to a high pitch of refinement, without exception, by education, and of a high standard in morality as well as enlightenment. John Stuart Mill admitted that universal education and a limitation upon population were necessary to the proper working out of Socialist ideals. But with the rogue, the cheat, the criminal, so numerous amongst us, such an experiment would be but opening wide the door of opportunity to such. It would afford a grand chance for wreaking of revenges, and "taking it out of" persons who had intentionally or otherwise given offence.

As is shown in Mr. Larmour's quotation and as illustrated by the argument of "Veritas," Socialism looks almost solely on the materialist side. It makes money and possessions the things to be aimed at, in that respect being no better than the reviled "capitalist." The talk of "Veritas" about the employer is off the same piece; it is simply an appeal to baseness in human nature.

There is no stiff line in this count, between employer and employed. They are constantly exchanging places and frequent loss of employers render it a question often seriously debated, whether it is wiser to be an employer or an employee. The margin of profit is often narrow, and liable to be made narrower, or done away with altogether, by accidents of business or poor judgment.

For "Veritas" to set himself up as a more capable judge of the interests of labor unionists than Mr. Gompers is an example in self-assurance that is usual with the Socialist. The fate of the Patrons of Industry and the Grange, which drew on the most numerous class in the country,

the agriculturists, is the one that awaits the kind of party that "Veritas" advocates, he being beyond instruction by act or precedent."

The chief source of the evils existing in England and other densely crowded countries in Europe arises from unnatural conditions of living brought about by the mad rush to great cities. Legislation there has not been fair to the ruralist; it ought to promote dispersion of huge British estates. If one-third the urban population could be turned to rural, and fitted for the same, conditions would be at once altered. A mild form of Protection in England would also promote improvement.

On this continent we have not the same density of population, not the same rush to the cities, hence not the same conditions. We are still chiefly an agricultural population with vast areas calling to the husbandman. The poor man can and does rise, with us, to comfort and sometimes to affluence. There is a sure reward to industry, capability, determination, and the desire to excel, as myriads of cases have proved."

#### Editorial Remarks of The Montreal Witness.

We are glad to understand better Mr. Larmour's purpose in protesting against socialism. He does not ask that promoters of socialism should be prohibited from preaching their gospel in Canada, nor that malicious sheets should be suppressed. What he wishes to do is to convince the people that socialism is not only an illusion, but that it is dangerous to the community and liable to lead its more credulous votaries to excesses and crime. No one could set before him a nobler mission than that of advising the people for their own good. There is in this case a difficulty about doing so in the fact that the people who are in most danger of going to extremes are not within the range of his voice. It is they who feed their minds with the vituperation of a reckless press which lives by appealing to envious passions. It is fair to note that the dangerous Chicago crowd whose fool fury left such an abiding impression on his mind was made up of the ignorant product of European despotism squeezed out upon American soil from between the millstones of cruelty and poverty, with whom this gospel of socialism was the traditional gleam that made life worth living, and who were beyond the reach of any teaching characteristic of their new country. It is also worth noting that, instead of inaugurating a reign of socialistic conviction on this continent, that outbreak did more to discredit socialism than would a daily article in every newspaper and a weekly sermon in every pulpit.

Apart, however, from the ignorant and fanatical, there is quite a different class not at all beyond the reach of appeals to argument. But with them our correspondent's task of education is likely to prove no small one. Possibly, it might prove a mutual one. He has, no doubt, in his study of the subject, found that the literature of today is charged with socialism, that the pulpit is a fountain of it, and the chairs of economics are saturated with it. The conclusion one would draw from this fact is that it is not easy to lay down a hard line and say this is mischievous socialism, while this, on the other side of the line, is benign humanitarianism. We doubt if, departing, as we must in many ways, from Adam Smith's hard rule of supply and demand, there will ever be found a clear boundary. What we are convinced of, however, is that with an intelligent people the logic of fact will prove a guide, effective against extreme folly and a dangerous despotism. Those who, like our correspondent, see nothing preposterous in the idea of the Canadian Pacific Railway being run by bosses, elected by its brakemen and linemen, will learn in this way. On the other hand, those to whom this idea is preposterous and nothing else, should consider whether industrial relations would not be greatly improved by

the brakemen and linemen each having a little stock to vote upon. There are two safeguards against excess which it is everyone's duty to promote. One is education. People are liable to fanaticism in proportion to their ignorance. But the more direct remedy is so to manage our industrial system that the workers shall be removed from the category of "have-nots," an element which, under live conditions, is naturally ebullient and upsetting, into that of the "haves," an element which is always conservative. Every man should have a bit of land which, whatever the relation of land to the government, is, as far as all other men are concerned, his own and his home. Every man should own some interest in the industrial concerns of the country—preferably of the concern in which he works. This is a practical problem upon which practical economists should bend their utmost powers."

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As a still further argument in support of Moses Baritz' contention that a Christian cannot be a Socialist nor a Socialist a Christian, I quote the following despatch from London:

"London, Oct. 8.—No man can consistently be both a Socialist and a Christian, is the astonishing statement in a pamphlet entitled 'Socialism and Religion,' published by the Socialist party of Great Britain.

"It is a profound truth," says the pamphlet, "that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion. Through Socialism alone will the relations between men in society and their relations to nature, become reasonable, orderly, and completely intelligible, leaving no nook or cranny for superstition. The entry of Socialism is, consequently, the exodus of religion.

"The indifference of the workers is fostered by the fact that religion when put to the test is ever found on the side of the oppressors. It is encouraged by the workers' daily contact with the hard mechanical realities of life, which leave little room for illusion."

#### **No Basis for Belief.**

"In spite of their lack of learning, the mass of the toilers find no basis for belief in divine interference, and little reason for doubting that the inevitable sequence that we call cause and effect, as seen in all industrial processes, extends unremittingly over the whole world.

"The rise of Socialistic ideas is itself but the reflex of the economic contradiction in terms known as the Christian Socialist, is inevitably antagonistic to working-class interests and the waging of the class struggle.

"A Christian Socialist is, in fact, an anti-Socialist.

"The concept of God as an explanation of the universe is becoming entirely untenable in this age of scientific inquiry.

"If a man supports the Church, or in any respect allows religious ideas to stand in the way of the principles of Socialism or the activity of the party, he proves thereby that he does not accept Socialism as fundamentally true and of the first importance, and his place is outside.

"No man can be consistently both a Socialist and a Christian."

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I will now call the reader's attention to the views of G. Bernard Shaw, one of the pillars and leading lights of Socialism, which should set at rest the question of whether Socialism does or does not threaten the abolition of the marriage contract.

In the controversy through the columns of the Montreal Witness just referred to, one correspondent challenged me fiercely on this point and de-

fied me to name on single Socialist who had ever even hinted at such a thing

"London, March 4.—Bernard Shaw, addressing tonight the Eugenics Education Society at Caxton Hall, advocated, among other things, the abolition of property and marriage, and the authorization by the state to kill undesirables.

"It is most obvious to everybody," he said, "that before we can begin to breed the human race with the view to its improvement, we must go further in the direction of political revision than the most extreme Socialist now ventures to suggest publicly. It is evident that we need the entire abolition of property and marriage, as now understood, as a preliminary step. I do not see any way out of that. I have found when addressing audiences on political questions, that they immediately get extraordinarily interested whenever I touch upon the subject of marriage and improvement of the human race. They already feel that if it is demonstrable that property is incompatible with achieving a high level of humanity, property must go, and it is evident that if they could be made to conceive that marriage is also incompatible with reaching that level, they would be prepared to consider whether marriage should not go."

Briefly attributing the existence of poverty, ignorance and idleness to property, Shaw did not elaborate on this point, merely adding: "Let us only get rid of property and we shall get rid of all that."

#### On Marriage.

He then concentrated his remarks on the marriage question. "It was the experience of almost everybody regarding marriage," he said, "that instead of people finding themselves in a great community of marriageable persons of their own age there were only about three persons within their reach, and they might not like any of them. Nevertheless they have to make the best they can of these three. They were driven into a marriage which consequently hardly ever represents their natural impulse, yet natural impulse seems to be the only thing which can be trusted for the improvement of the race."

Dealing lengthily with this point, Shaw contended that in order to give natural impulse a chance to operate satisfactorily, there ought to be a serious effort to make the whole community intermarriageable, and to widen the sphere of sexual selection. Eugenic politics should be directed to those ends. Mating was now mainly a matter of income. A man might see an attractive scrub woman, but he could not very well marry her. Then he might see a duchess who would not want to marry him. In order to improve things the state would have to provide incomes for everybody, and see that each person earned his income."

#### Kill Undesirables.

"Eugenic politics would, continued the lecturer, land us in the extensive useful lethal chamber. It would be necessary to revise our views of the sacredness of human life. We should find ourselves committed to the killing of a great many people. Some would have to be removed simply because it took other people's time to look after them. On the other hand, we should leave living many people we now kill. We should have to get rid of all ideas of capital punishment. It is right to kill a man who can't be trusted to go about in society without injuring others, but a man may commit murder, and yet be a perfectly safe and desirable citizen afterwards. Indeed, it might have been a desirable thing to have removed the murdered man. A man ought to be allowed to commit a certain number of crimes just as he is allowed to have a certain number of sicknesses."

Recurring to marriage Shaw put a hypothetical case. "Suppose pro-



erty has been abolished, a whole community made intermarriageable, and a department of eugenics established. This department in making experiments might introduce a man to a woman and tell him he is to marry her. The man might object that she had a bad temper, and he, therefore did not wish to live with her. The department would reply that her temper was the very reason we wished you to marry her. We think that crossing her temper with your temperament would produce a highly desirable temperament. It seems to be that to meet cases of that kind we shall have to make some provision by which women can become mothers without having to live domestically with the fathers of their children."

This drew applause from the audience, whereupon Shaw said: "I notice that immediately I begin to talk immorality I get a response. I am so gratified with that success that I will not try to improve upon it, but will sit down."

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An article appeared in the *Busy Man's Magazine* for January last under the heading of "What is to be Our Next Religion?" copied from "Current Literature," in which the Rev. Dr. John Haines Holmes is quoted as saying:

"Socialism is as fine a religion as any today. Religion is a spirit of unselfish enthusiasm that unites great bodies in the service of humanitarian ideal. The Socialists have that ideal. They have that fine ideal.

"I tell my congregation that they cannot be saved individually. I tell them that they'll all go to heaven or hell together. The day for individual salvation is over. The era of social salvation is at hand."

The point I wish to make by this quotation is that Christian Socialism is based on idealism similar to that of secular Socialism; that is, it is not founded on fact or authority—that its advocates are given over to following after whimsical notions or prompted by a wish to be considered broad minded and liberal in their teaching, by breaking away from the old beaten paths.

The utterances of Rev. Dr. Holmes as quoted, and also of other clergymen who hold like opinions, or profess to do so, are simply adaptations or applications of President Eliot's theory of "The Religion of the Future" to which I have already referred. From a newspaper report of that noted address of President Eliot I take the following brief extracts in proof of this statement:

"Dr. Eliot began, not with the expression of an opinion, but with the statement of the fact that the course in theology as taken at Harvard, would teach the student that religion was not a fixed, but a fluid thing. . . . He thought it reasonable to suppose that religion would continue to change, to adapt itself to new conditions, but there would come a time when the ideal would be reached, and he ventured to call the religion that would then be generally practiced 'The Religion of the Future.' . . . Authority would have no place in it for the decline of the reliance upon absolute authority is one of the most significant phenomena of the modern world, and is seen in religion, in government, in education, in business and in the family. Not only would the authority of the Roman Catholic Church wane, but the authority of the Protestant Bible also. There would be no trace of the tribal beliefs of the Hebrews in the new religion."

These brief extracts will be sufficient to indicate the trend of the full address and will also show how closely he is being followed by such clergymen



as the Rev. Dr. Holmes. What a man in the position of President Eliot puts forth in the way of theory and ideal or prediction is sure to find many lesser men ready to imitate—their ambition is to become sensational.

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The famous "Osborne Judgment," which is referred to in the following news item may not be generally understood in this country. I, therefore, for the convenience of readers, make this brief explanation: For twenty-five years there has been a law in existence in Great Britain making it illegal for Trade and Labor Unions to contribute from their funds towards paying salaries to members who represented them in Parliament. This law, which had been openly violated for so long, was put into force through a test case being brought before the court. The case was defended to the bitter end by the Socialist members and carried up to the highest court, that of the Lords, who gave the final decision.

"London, Feb. 3.—The labor conference at Leicester has decided by a large majority to abandon its pledge to contribute to the support of its members of parliament, which a majority of the judges who gave the famous Osborne judgment declared to be illegal and contrary to public policy. The extremists in the conference, including James Keir Hardie, put up a fierce opposition, declaring that the abandonment of the pledge was a surrender to the House of Lords and submission to the dictation of the Government, but the representatives of 1,054,000 workmen swamped the opposition, representing 306,000 workmen.

Immediately after this decision was given by the law lords, the Socialist members made the demand that the government pass a law to make the payment by union men legal. This the government would not undertake to do, but instead now propose to pass an act to pay all members. The overthrow of Keir Hardie and his friends at the union conference at Leicester was partly owing to the activity of the Anti-Socialist Union.

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It will no doubt have been noticed that in referring to the Socialist members of the British House of Commons they are called the "Labor Party" or the "Labor members" by newspapers. The reason for this is obvious, but liable to lead to misunderstanding by those who are not familiar with the subject. The following statement made by Mr. James Shaw Maxwell, a prominent citizen of Glasgow and himself a leading Socialist, to a reporter of the Toronto Mail and Empire some months ago, when he was in this country, will make it clear that "Labor Party" or "Labor members" means the Socialist Party or the Socialist members:

"Socialism is making great progress in Britain," said Mr. Maxwell. "There is a powerful Labor party in the Commons. The larger proportion of the 50 members represent the Independent Labor party, of which I was national secretary in 1893, when its foundations were laid. All are good Labor men, and without exception Socialists, many of them advanced Socialists. The more moderate section of the Labor party represents, mainly, the great trade unions, which, while Socialistic in ideas, are not yet openly avowed Socialists. They especially are going to have a stiff pull at the next elections."

## CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS

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The foregoing pages will have furnished evidence that Socialism involves fundamental changes, both Social and Economic, which can only be brought about by a complete overthrow of existing conditions.

There has also been ample evidence produced to show that Socialism has no clearly defined plan for the reconstruction of the system it purposes overthrowing—no constructive programme to meet the new conditions it purposes to inaugurate by a revolution. The inevitable result of this must be that between the disorganization of present conditions and any possible reorganization, there must intervene a period of utter chaos, a cessation of movement with no means provided for a continuation, yet this is the certain result which Socialists invite credulous people to accept and support. Their leaders even have the effrontery to tell these people that there is no need of considering the future; that the future will take care of itself, automatically as it were, after the revolution.

Can any candid and conscientious reader of these pages claim that this is not virtually the position in which Socialism stands at the present time; will any unprejudiced reader undertake to say that there is lack of evidence supplied to support such a conclusion?

With no better prospect for the ultimate successful outcome of their Visionary Schemes than they have produced by their fallacious and illusive claims, with a complete lack of defined plans for the future, what possible good can result from all this activity and agitation that is being carried on at the present time? What advantages can be gained through all the disturbances that result from such agitations, or what benefit can accrue to any class through the discord and embittered feelings that are engendered? In short, what possible permanent gain can there be for any individual, class or community through urging on a class war such as Socialism contemplates?

On the other hand the evils and injurious effects resulting from these impossible propositions are visible everywhere and in many forms. The disturbing influences set in motion through the efforts of the Socialists are felt everywhere; but whether seen or felt, or both, the resultant effects point in the same direction—that is, to the detriment of the progress and well-being of all classes and communities.

Neither the young, the middle-aged, nor even the old are exempt from its blighting influences and effects—its whole tendency is towards a loosening of all those ties which have hitherto bound the units of civilized

societies together for their good, and made possible the splendid progress which has marked the last fifty years.

On a false foundation, Socialism is trying to erect a superstructure of false premises. Paint and decorate it as you will, fill the gorgeous fabric with pictures to allure, and with music to attract, it will but become the more dangerous trap for the unwary. In our cities there are expert inspectors regularly appointed under municipal laws to condemn dangerous structures, but in our Social and Political world the practice seems to be to let those who are so foolish as to embark in such an enterprise bear the consequences, taking no precaution against the danger to which legitimate institutions are exposed.

The whole conception embraced in the Socialist creed is confined within the limits of idealism. There is nothing natural or practical connected with its formula which is founded on fiction, and yet it seems there are many people in this practical age who, enticed by the fanciful pictures presented, accept it as the new gospel and preach it as the only means of regenerating, renovating, renewing and readjusting the social structure of the whole world and to turn it into a paradise on earth.

If this gospel were to remain the harmless dream that some people claim it to be, then there would, indeed, be little cause for anxiety concerning it—but is it harmless? Is there really no need for taking precaution or of offering opposition to its spread? Let us examine; let us probe deeper and see.

When the converts and adherents of this new gospel, in immense numbers, join themselves together into clubs, lodges, societies, etc., and consolidate into national and international leagues for political purposes—when they individually and collectively solemnly pledge themselves to follow a certain leadership—when they vow fealty to their creed and renounce their personal independence, adjure their religion, foreswear their allegiance to their country and loyalty to its government, regardless of the consequences to themselves or their fellow citizens—when, I repeat, they are willing to do this and much more for the sake of what they call the Great Cause, can they, in reason, be looked upon as a harmless organization?

When this organization holds conventions composed of leading members or elected delegates from all quarters of the globe—when these delegates discuss and denounce existing institutions, propose and pass resolutions demanding their abolition and overthrow, when they pass laws for their own government in accordance with their professed creed and issue dictatorial manifestoes of world-wide significance, giving directions and instructions to their millions of devotees, can it be said in reason that they are entirely harmless?

Do the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States look upon organized Socialism as harmless and unworthy of notice? Do not political parties that are in power seek to placate and cajole this Socialism, while they have to resist its encroachment and presumptuous dictation?

Do not political parties that are in opposition seek to win the support

of Socialists by promises of concessions and legislation favoring their schemes?

Do the municipal governments of large cities in the countries named deem Socialism a harmless fad to be ignored? Do the great industrial institutions look upon Socialism as a thing of no import to them? Finally, I would ask with deep sympathy and reverence, do the widows, orphans, and bereaved relatives of the victims of the fiendish Los Angeles outrage look upon Socialism as a harmless movement? No! for they are all well aware from practical experience that organized Socialism, like organized Unionism, is powerful, vigorous and aggressive, that it will have to be reckoned with in a practical way sooner or later. It is only the general average citizen that remains apparently unconscious of that which should be of the greatest concern to them; and yet it is the general public that must take action before any concentrated movement to resist the aggressiveness of Socialism can be made effectively.

Again I will ask, do Socialists not look upon those who differ with them in opinion, those who are opposed to their doctrines and who would offer opposition to their demands, as enemies? In fact, do they not show by their teaching and their actions, that they have no conception of the right of others to differ with them? Under the fanatical teaching of their leaders Socialists have become so infatuated with the idea that their cause is the only righteous cause, that they cannot conceive of others having any right to refuse to accept their gospel.

There are also some who seem to think that Socialism is a mere harmless fiction meant for the amusement and diversion of people who choose to take an interest in such things.

They do not seem to realize that Socialism has grown and spread and is crystallizing into forms that have become menacing, for Socialism and Anarchism have such an affinity that they are fast merging and becoming one body. From Unionism to Socialism and from Socialism to Anarchism is a sequence that might be termed characteristic.

In the recent troubles in France, to which I have referred, the Government was obliged to resort to extreme measures to prevent another revolution—to use the French Prime Minister's own words: "to save the Fatherland." Who were they, or what force was it against which he had to take the extreme action? Was it harmless Socialism or was it Socialism in its revolutionary role or attitude toward existing institutions? May not the same thing occur in Germany or in Great Britain or in America?

It may be considered by some readers that I am running to the extreme in giving so much importance to the vagaries of Socialism, but I submit that there is evidence produced to show that it has already reached the danger line and that it is high time that some concerted action be taken, even here in Canada, to oppose the propaganda by exposing its fallacies, its vagaries and its illusions.

Socialism, it may be said, resembles Unionism in some respects, for they both had their origin from the same source, that is, from the discontented and envious elements in the social life of the world.

They have both had a rapid and vigorous growth and have flourished

under somewhat similar conditions; but they are unlike in that Unionism has developed a hardy stalk—has become an institution standing on its own merits, while Socialism seems to have grafted itself upon its kindred plant and drawn from it such sustenance that it now arrogantly seeks to assume all directing power, not only as regards the affairs of Unionism, but also of all human affairs. In fact, Socialism is now aiming at nothing short of dictating to the whole human family how its future is to be governed without a single detail being worked out to a practical issue.

Socialism may be likened to a huge monster running at large under neither self-control or the control of any master, and without even the instinct of self preservation. Throwing out its tentacles in all directions among the workers of the world, and absorbing the life and intellect of the victims that come within its reach it fattens upon what it feeds, giving nothing back in return. As the feeding ground is almost unlimited and the nourishing food easy of attainment, the monster grows greater and greater in its proportion and its arrogance and aggressiveness becomes more and more pronounced, intolerant and intolerable.

What the end of all this is to be is the problem that is now forcing itself on the notice of many thoughtful people in all parts of the civilized world.

With the one notable exception of the Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain, there seems to be no concerted action taken towards solving the problem. Trades and Labor Unions, as a body, cannot be ignorant of the fact that they are being made victims by an irresponsible set of demagogues, yet many labor leaders are so wrapped up in their own egotism and self-sufficiency that they are all but unapproachable so far as any outside attempt to influence them for their own good is concerned. Any movement in that direction, no matter how disinterested and well meant, is met with cold disdain or resentful contempt; the rank and file cannot be reached, to any great extent, except through their leaders, and are to a degree, so infatuated with their organization that they will accept nothing that does not come to them with the Union label conspicuously attached. It is mainly on this account that so many well-disposed people seem inclined to say: "They are joined to their idols; let them alone."

To leave Socialists alone to work out the will of selfish and irresponsible leaders would, I contend, be unwise and not in accord with the true spirit of altruism. If it is wrong to deceive and mislead the innocent and uneducated by false representations as to what is for their genuine and permanent good, then it must be wrong for those who know of this wrong being done, not to make an honest effort to warn them and endeavor by all reasonable means to convince them of the fact that they are being misled.

Much of the trouble that results from the precipitate action of those who are so deceived and imposed upon might be avoided, if, instead of leaving them alone they were wisely and prudently—in friendly sincerity—made aware of their mistaken course. It surely cannot be expecting too much from those who are in a position to act the friendly and disinterested part,

to consent to do so, when the opportunity offers. Would it not be a truly philanthropic act to give in this direction as well as to give large sums for charitable institutions that are of little or no benefit to those who stand more in need of good and wholesome advice, given in an effectual way and without offensive ostentation.

If large bodies of men of uncultured minds are found pursuing a wrong course as the result of being deceived by demagogues, it does not necessarily follow that such men are all vicious and intractable, or men who deserve no consideration at the hands of those who are differently situated. My contention is that this is the very situation where the strongest effort to undeceive, to "disillusion," should be effectively directed.

The question here arises, what is the most effective method to adopt for the accomplishment of this somewhat delicate and difficult work, for experience has shown that individual effort often only results in raising a storm of passionate resentment or contemptuous rejection.

But here is just where we should profit by such experience and instead of desultory individual effort there should be adopted the plan of concerted action, through which means there would be sufficient force gained to meet and overcome the opposition; such opposition is only natural and what might be expected, and can, therefore, with proper preparation, be more successfully dealt with.

It was the result of just such experience that brought into existence the Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain.

Perhaps I could not make the point which I wish to emphasize more clear than by giving here a condensed sketch of the work this powerful organization has undertaken and is successfully carrying forward. In the first place, they have an efficient printing and publishing establishment of their own. They issue a first-class monthly journal prepared by an able editorial staff. They also publish books, pamphlets, tracts, leaflets, etc., which are circulated free or at a nominal cost. These are distributed where they are likely to do the most good, by a staff trained to such work. They have established a school for training a small army of proficient lecturers. Three hundred selected men are taking a special course to equip themselves for taking the field and meeting the enemy on his own chosen ground—face to face in controversial combat. They are specially drilled to resist the attacks of the professional "heckler," and if at first they are defeated by superior forces or by personal violence, they are expected to rally and renew the attack on the same ground until the English love of fair play is aroused and they are granted a fair hearing.

A regular system of free lectures is arranged for in all cities and towns where the fallacies and illusions of Socialism are exposed.

The general plan followed by the Anti-Socialist Union is to expose rather than oppose Socialism—that is to say, their efforts are directed towards enlightening the working men in regard to the impracticable schemes that are proposed by Socialists, and their purpose of gaining the control over Trades and Labor Unions. In following this course the Anti-Socialist Union is gaining the confidence of the laboring classes and they are being looked upon, more and more, as true friends rather than enemies.

From this it will be readily seen that much more effectual work can be done by combining efforts.

Socialism has become so strong and has obtained such a hold that nothing short of a concerted national movement against it will avail to check its advance or break down its growing influence.

The trained and experienced lecturer, when he succeeds in securing a fair hearing, by the desire of the audience itself, will fall short of his mission if he does not succeed in convincing many hearers of the extreme folly of looking to Socialism for the redress of all grievances—whether real or fancied—or for the removal of all causes of discontent. Nay, more; he should also convince many that in throwing themselves into the embrace of Socialism, they would be but courting further troubles and inviting greater difficulties, for Socialism has really nothing to give them back in return for their support and devotion, nothing to compensate them for the sacrifice they would make in breaking away from, and abandoning, all that they possess under present conditions.

There is a class of men who cannot be called Socialists or even Socialist sympathizers, yet they take the stand that the present social system, which permits the few to own all the wealth, while the many have nothing, is wrong. They claim that something must be done to improve these conditions. They will argue in support of this claim at any length, using well known Socialist platitudes, quote authorities, give examples and so on, and make out a somewhat strong case, at least in their own estimation.

This class of men will no doubt say that my work is mainly a negative one—that it is in no essential constructive because it puts forward no alternative as against the Socialism it condemns. To such a complaint I can only say that this work was not intended to be other than its title implies. To go into such matters as offering suggestions looking towards a remedy for the wrongs which they claim exist would be another story altogether, and would require a volume by itself.

The leading feature of the social problem as it presents itself at present is contained in the fact that some men in every community are inherently progressive, resourceful, creative, capable of self-mastery and self-direction—while, on the other hand, there are men capable of none of these things; they can be made useful, comfortable and essentially free, but only by being brought under a certain degree of bondage to society and kept under mastership and discipline until they have acquired the experience and power to fit them for helping and governing themselves. Now, one of these two classes may represent the few and the other the many in a given community. Such being the case, would it be wise, would it be just and prudent for the few at the demand of some demagogue leaders of the many, to withdraw from their controlling position—to throw up their governing and disciplining mastership and leave society to the control of the non-capable, non-progressive, non-creative, non-disciplined class?

Most surely it would be unwise, imprudent, unjust to do so—and this is just what the present work has undertaken to show in regard to the So-



cialist movement. It offers no alternative schemes, no competing ideal cure-all, no radical reforms based on Utopian plans, no new theory for the regeneration of the race in this world or for insuring salvation in the next. It is a simple endeavor to demonstrate that "Socialism would wreck the world's efficiency for the sake of redistributing the world's discontent."

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It is with much diffidence that I venture to add a few final words addressed to the laboring class (one of whom I have been all my life), more particularly to those belonging to Trades and Labor Unions. The lesson to be drawn from the brief history given of Lane's late attempt to establish a Socialist state in South America and the still later failure of the coal mining venture under Socialist rule in France, should prove a warning not to be lightly regarded by intelligent workers. The facts that have been recorded showing that Socialist leaders are looking to unionism for their main source of supply, both politically and financially, while they are giving back nothing substantial in return, should be viewed from a reasoning standpoint and the merits of the whole Socialist scheme closely sifted and minutely examined.

History is full of examples of how workers have been made dupes through demagogic leaders of fallacious schemes for their benefit which were really only miserable selfish plans for playing on their credulity and robbing them of their substance. Are the workers of the present day so blind to their own real interests that they will consent to be imposed upon again by one of the most gigantic frauds that was ever attempted—a fraud based on nothing more solid than the hysterical dreams of social and political charlatans, and backed by a class no more substantial than social and political adventurers?

Surely the intelligent workers of today are not going to prove themselves so foolish as to be either deceived, cajoled or driven into giving up their independence and blindly placing themselves under the bondage of such a hypocritical oligarchy. Workers need not look far to find out what such leaders are aiming at, nor yet for the motives that govern their pretended anxiety for the worker's welfare, for they are most glaringly apparent to any one who will but open his eyes to the facts and look the truth courageously in the face.







